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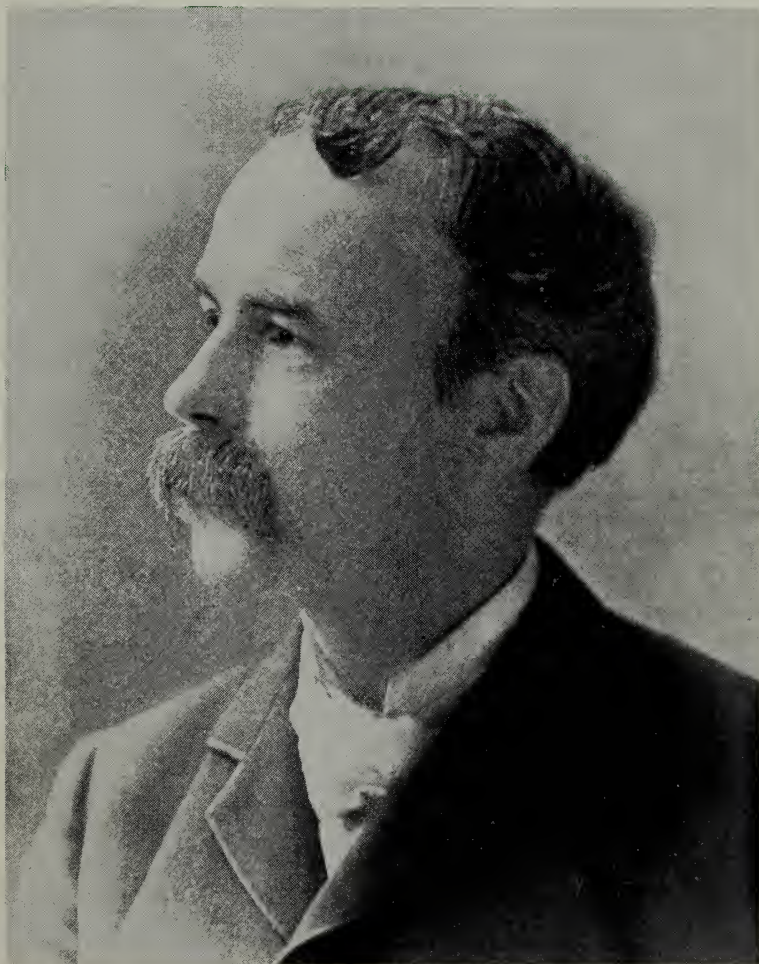
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The

Historical Society of Southern California

QUARTERLY



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JULIAN HAWTHORNE

See JULIAN HAWTHORNE: *Concordian in California* — Page 14

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA was organized in 1883, and has enjoyed a record of continuous activity for nearly three-quarters of a century: Commencing in 1886, and each year until 1935, the Society issued an Annual Publication. In 1935 the *Quarterly* was initiated. It is published each March, June, September and December.

It is the aim of the Editorial Board to make the *Quarterly* a publication of general historical interest. Suggestions and criticisms are always welcomed, and all persons, whether members of the Society or not, are invited to submit for the consideration of the editors original articles, old letters, documents, maps and other material bearing upon the history and development of this region.

The Society's Purposes and Objectives are:

- To sponsor and encourage observances of historic dates and anniversaries;
- To preserve and protect the archives and historic sites of the Southwest with particular stress on Southern California;
- To assist in the marking and restoration of landmarks which inspire interest and respect for events, persons and customs of the past;
- To promote activity in the conservation of public records, historical documents, newspapers, museum material and related Californiana;
- To preserve, as an aid to business and industry, business records, industrial and transportation history and the use of historic material in public relations;
- To encourage the increased use of history in the schools, to the end that there shall be developed a greater interest in, respect for, and loyalty to our American institutions;
- To publish material of permanent historic interest and significance;
- To assist and encourage all persons and organizations engaged in similar activities;
- To hold regular monthly meetings in Los Angeles (except during the summer months) at which persons of recognized authority in their respective subjects appear as guest speakers, followed by refreshments and a social hour;
- To gather at least once each year in a pilgrimage to some spot of historic significance.

This Society is a public non-profit corporation. The principal sources of revenue for its operations and maintenance are from membership dues, contributions and bequests. It renders a worthy public service and needs your support.

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The
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QUARTERLY



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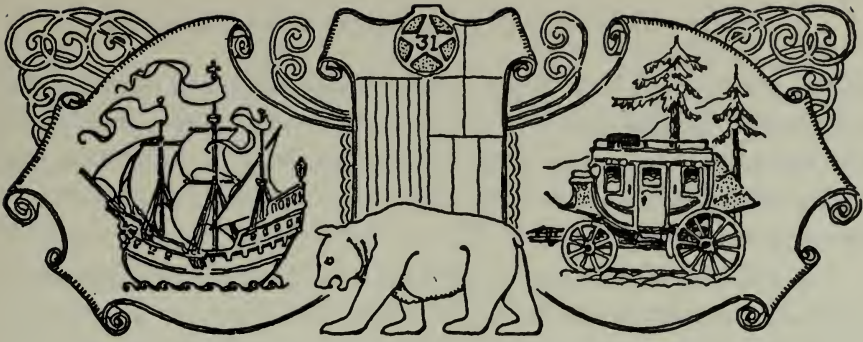
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GUSTAVE O. ARLT, *Editor*

The Historical Society of Southern California QUARTERLY for March, 1957

The Carrillos of San Diego: *A Historic Spanish Family of California*

By Brian McGinty



ALTHOUGH CALIFORNIA HAD BEEN DISCOVERED by Cabrillo in 1542. But it was not until over two hundred years later, in 1769, that the first Spanish settlers arrived. There were Franciscan friars, led by the kind but forceful and zealous Junipero Serra. And there were Spanish soldiers who had come at the order of the Viceroy of Mexico to militarize the then-unknown wilderness province. Together with compatriots who were to follow soon, these men formed the nucleus of the Spanish population. They were only a few hundred at first; and yet, by the year 1848, their numbers had swelled to nearly twelve-thousand.¹ This amazing increase of population was not the result of immigration, but of the very large families of the province — many of which boasted twenty or more children. The founders of these great families were looked upon as patriarchs, — their descendants forming vast, clan-like dynasties.

In the words of Bancroft, the Carrillo family “must be considered in several respects the leading one in California, by reason


of the number and prominence of its members and of their connection by marriage with so many of the best families, both native and pioneer."² It was a large and proud family — but composed of two distinct branches whose direct relationship to this day remains unknown.

A first branch of the family was founded by José Raimundo Carrillo, who had come to the province in 1769 from Loreto, Baja California. Among his descendants were José Antonio Ezequiel Carrillo, prominent leader of the 1830's, Carlos Antonio de Jesus Carrillo, Governor for a short time in 1837, Pablo de la Guerra, leading citizen of Santa Barbara, and, in the present day, the stage, screen and television actor, Leo Carrillo.

A second branch of the family was founded by Joaquin, also of Baja California, who, as Bancroft says, "was probably a cousin to José Raimundo."³ It is with this man, Joaquin, and the most prominent of his descendants in the history of California — a family referred to collectively as "The Carrillos of San Diego" — that this paper is concerned.

Part I

Joaquin Carrillo, Founder of the Family

 JOAQUIN CARRILLO LIVED AND WORKED in California for nearly forty years. The son of Magdalena Marron and Joaquin Carrillo (the elder), he was born in the Baja California settlement of San José del Cabo and arrived in Alta California sometime after 1800.⁴

On September 3, 1809, in the Presidial Chapel of San Diego, Joaquin was married to María Ignacia Lopez, daughter of Juan Francisco Lopez and María Feliciano Arballo de Gutierrez.⁵

His wife's mother, Señora Arballo de Gutierrez, had been a member of the second expedition of Captain Juan Bautista de Anza. It is recorded that on the night of December 17, 1775, she soundly shocked Father Pedro Font, chronicler of the expedition, by singing some flirting and rather ribald songs. Though the *padre* did not mention her by name, he was definitely referring to Señora

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Gutierrez — the only widow of the group — when he wrote: "At night, with the joy at the arrival of all the people, they held a *fandango* here. It was somewhat discordant, and a very bold widow who came with the expedition sang some verses which were not at all nice, applauded by all the crowd. For this reason the man to whom she came attached became angry and punished her."⁶

Señora Gutierrez was also the mother of María Eustaquia Gutierrez, the wife of José Maria Pico. By this connection, Joaquin Carrillo's wife, María Ignacia Lopez, was related to the family of Pio, Andres and José Antonio Pico.

In the records of early San Diego is a partial list of the god-children of Joaquin Carrillo, covering the years 1807-1810. With its comments on the professional and marital status of Señor Carrillo, it is an interesting and valuable chronicle of his first years in California.

JOAQUIN CARRILLO

February 28, 1807—Godfather of Maria de la Luz Nestora Rios
Soldier of said Presidio.

February 28, 1808—Godfather of Jose Juaquin Nestor Armas
Leather-jacket soldier, bachelor.

May 27, 1808—Godfather of Indian baptized at San Diego Mission
Leather-jacket soldier of this Presidio of San Diego.

September 24, 1808—Godfather of Indian baptized at San Diego Mission.
Leather-jacket soldier of the neighboring presidio.

November 18, 1809—Godfather of Jose Maria de Jesus Cristoso Vejar, baptized at San Diego Mission. *Married to Maria Ygnacia Lopez.*

November 9, 1809—Godfather to Maria Josefa Carlota, *his wife Maria Ygnacia Lopez of the same Presidio.*

April 4, 1810—Godfather to Maria Antonia Theodosia Joaquina Ybarra.⁷

In San Diego, the cradle-city of Spanish California, Joaquin and his family made their permanent home. The *Casa de Carrillo*, one of the largest and grandest "great casas" of the Spanish period, was built between 1810 and 1820 by Comandante Francisco Ruiz of the Presidio of San Diego. At the time of its construction, it was the only private residence standing outside the walls of the Presidio. Surrounding it was the famous Ruiz orchard of pear, olive,

and pomegranate trees, planted in about 1807. Joaquin Carrillo and his family lived in the house for several years in the 1820's and 1830's while it was still the property of the Comandante. And, in 1835, Ruiz deeded the house and orchard to be held for three of the Carrillo children, of whom he was godfather.⁸

As the primary social center of the pueblo of San Diego, the *Casa de Carrillo* saw within its adobe walls festive gatherings of old California's most notable personages. Here, Governor José Echeandia passed enjoyable evenings during his frequent San Diego sojourns of 1825-1833. And from the doors of this house one of the most colorful processions in the history of Spanish and Mexican California — the grand, double wedding party of Augustin Zamorano, Romualdo Pacheco, and their respective brides, Luisa Argüello and Ramona Carrillo — set out in the spring of 1827 for the capital at Monterey.⁹

Joaquin and María Ignacia Carrillo were the parents of five boys and seven girls, all born in San Diego. The girls were: Josefa, Ramona, Francisca Benicia, María de la Luz, Juana de Jesus, Felicidad, and Marta; the boys: Joaquin, José Ramon, Julio, Juan, and Dolores. Many of these children were to be prominent in the subsequent history of California, and their important and interesting stories will be told later in this series of articles.

In the early days of San Diego, the Carrillo family enjoyed an enviable and respected reputation among the aristocratic *gente de razon*. And it is recorded that several colonists of the Hija-Padres expedition of 1834 made grateful mention of the kindness they received in San Diego at the hands of Joaquin Carrillo and his family.¹⁰

The violin, much like the traditional Spanish guitar, was a universally loved instrument among the Californians. Its plaintive strains, set against the clicking heels of the *fandango* and the melodious singing and laughter of the *fiesta*, were common sounds in Spanish California. Those who could play the instrument were few; but one of them was Joaquin Carrillo who, according to Pio Pico, was a violinist of some accomplishment.¹¹

One evening in 1824 — while playing for a ball at the home of Comandante Ruiz — Carrillo was ordered to play a favorite tune

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on his violin. But it seems he took too much time in tuning his instrument; and — though the evening was still young—the impatient Ruiz broke up the party and bruskiy ordered Señor Carrillo to the stocks.¹²

In 1835, Joaquin petitioned to the government for a grant of the then-secularized San Diego Mission estate. And, in the same year, he made an attempt to sell the famous orchard that Comandante Ruiz had given their children. But, here, he met with sudden and decisive failure. On May 19, 1835, his wife petitioned to Governor Figueroa, begging that Joaquin not be allowed to sell the orchard because it was the only means left to support their family. Accordingly, the Governor decreed that the property did not belong to Señor Carrillo and could not be sold by him.¹³

After serving for more than twenty years as a soldier in California, Joaquin Carrillo retired from the army in 1827. And, although the exact date is not known, it is believed that his death occurred in about 1836.¹⁴

Part II

Josefa Carrillo



ONE OF THE MOST INTERESTING and beautiful of Joaquin Carrillo's daughters — and one who was to create the greatest stir in provincial society — was Josefa. Born at San Diego on December 29, 1810, Señorita Josefa was given the baptismal names of Miría Antonia Natalia Elijia Carrillo. But, according to a family story, she was called by her familiar name because her godmother had forgotten the others and *guessed* that one of them was Josefa.¹⁵

The days of the Boston skippers in California — when Spanish hides and tallow were traded at the seashore for American products brought “round the horn”—were days of newness and change for the sleepy Mexican province. Graceful clippers and brigantines, plying Pacific waters, brought peppermint drops, Parisian gowns, and delicately woven lace to the far-off frontier outpost. But, most important of all, they brought a new breed of men—sailors, cap-

tains and deckhands alike—men who infused a reckless, salt-air spirit into the Old World manner of California life.

Such a man was Captain Henry D. Fitch, a Massachusetts-born American who had arrived in California in 1826. Fitch, master of the Mexican brig, *María Ester*, was an adventurous, romantic youth, and soon found himself in love with the charming Señorita Josefa Carrillo. In 1827 he gave her a written promise of marriage. And, although the captain was a foreigner, the señorita's parents gave their prompt approval to the match.¹⁶

Padre Menendez of San Diego consented to perform the ceremony. On April 14, 1829, he baptized Fitch in the Presidial Chapel of San Diego. With his name Latinized to the very auspicious *Enrique Domingo Fitch*,—Alferez Domingo Carrillo, son of the aforementioned José Raimundo, was named as his godfather.¹⁷

The priest had promised to marry the couple the next day, and preparations for the ceremony were carefully made. On April 15, members of the immediate family — together with Captain Richard Barry, Máximo Beristain, and Pio Pico—assembled late in the evening at the *Casa de Carrillo*. All was ready, and the *padre* had begun the ceremony when, suddenly, Domingo Carrillo —this time appearing as aide to Governor Echeandia—broke in and forbade the marriage in the governor's name.¹⁸ It is very probable that the motive of this action was jealousy, as it seems the fair Josefa had not shown due appreciation of the governor's attentions. Nevertheless, neither the angry ravings of the indignant *novio* nor the tears and entreaties of his heart-broken *novia* were of avail. The ceremony could not proceed. But the *padre* reminded Fitch that there were other countries where laws were less exacting. And he even offered to go in person and marry the couple anywhere beyond the boundaries of California.¹⁹

"Why don't you carry me off, Don Enrique?" Señorita Josefa asked innocently. The scheme was a wild one, but Captain Barry approved of it, and so did the lady's cousin, Pio Pico. And although Fitch had established business relations on the coast and was somewhat cautious about his future, he was not a man to require urging.

The next night, without consulting the señorita's parents, Pico mounted his best horse and, taking his cousin up on the saddle,



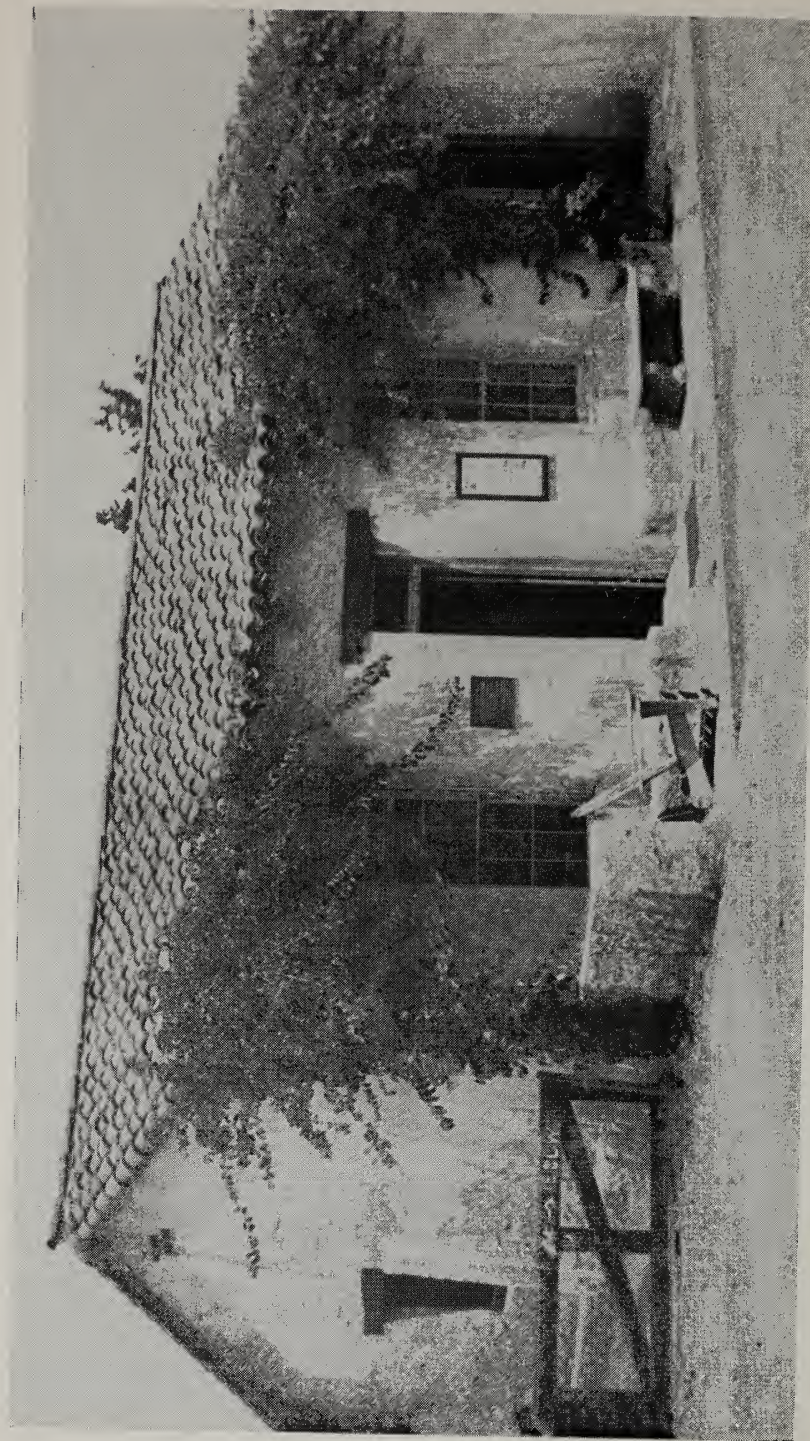
— Brian McGinny Collection

JOSEFA CARRILLO DE FITCH
*Eloped to Valparaiso, Chile, to
 become the bride of Captain
 Enrique Domingo Fitch*



— Title Insurance and Trust Company Collection

CAPTAIN HENRY D. FITCH
*Baptised under the Latinized name of
 Enrique Domingo Fitch*



— Title Insurance and Trust Company Collection

CASA DE CARRILLO, SAN DIEGO

Birthplace of Josefa Carrillo that was built sometime between 1810 and 1820 by Comandante Francisco Ruiz. In the 1840s Casa de Carrillo became known as Fitch House.

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rode swiftly to a spot on the San Diego Bay shore where a ship was waiting. He escorted her safely on board and, turning to leave, salved his conscience by cautioning Fitch not to give Josefa any reason to regret her decision.²⁰

Thereupon the ship drew anchor. And, by morning, the lovers were far out on the Pacific.

Their marriage took place on July 3, at Valparaiso, Chile.²¹ And for a time afterward they lived in the South American cities of Lima and Callao. But, back in California, the population buzzed with excitement, and rumors were current that Señorita Josefa had been forcibly kidnapped. Then, one year later, when Captain Fitch made an unexpected appearance in California aboard the brig, *Leonor*,—bringing with him his wife and an infant son—there was astonishment throughout the province.

In July, 1830, Fitch touched at San Diego, where he went ashore to obtain official permission for the trading of his cargo in California ports. Here, Señora Carrillo came on board the ship to see her daughter. She said that Don Joaquin was so disturbed about his daughter's elopement that he had threatened to kill her on sight.²² But Josefa preferred death to her father's displeasure, and so hurried ashore, leaving her baby with one of her sisters.

When she arrived at the *Casa de Carrillo*, she found her father seated at a writing desk with a pistol by his side.

"Father," she pleaded. "I have returned to San Diego to ask thy pardon."

Her father did not reply. Josefa knelt by the door and sobbingly implored him to believe that she had left California only to escape the tyranny of Echeandia. Still her father maintained a stern silence; but his eyes no longer rested on the gun. Josefa dragged herself forward, pleading with him. And when she had come to "within six varas" of his chair, he suddenly rushed forward and caught her in his arms.

"I forgive thee, daughter," he said, "for it is not thy fault that our governors are despots!"

Upon hearing this, the ladies of the town entered the house to congratulate Doña Josefa; and the day ended happily with a "ball and illumination."²³

But the troubles of Doña Josefa and her husband were by no means over. Later in July, Fitch sailed up the coast for San Pedro. And as soon as he landed there he was served with a summons from Padre Sanchez, vicar and ecclesiastical judge of the territory, ordering him to present himself for trial on most serious charges. Calmly ignoring this summons, the captain sent his marriage certificate for the vicar's inspection and sailed up the coast for Monterey. Arriving there toward the end of August, he was at once arrested and ordered sent to San Gabriel where, with his wife, he was to be tried before an ecclesiastical court.²⁴

Legal proceedings were begun in December of 1830, with José Palomares in charge. Many witnesses were examined and learned opinions expressed. Then, on December 28, the vicar rendered his decision:

Christie nominie invocato! The accusations against Doña Josefa and her husband, he said, had not been substantiated. Though the marriage at Valparaiso took place under conditions not totally legitimate, it was nevertheless valid. And he decided that the couple should be released and the next Sunday act as *velados*, receiving the sacraments that ought to have preceded their marriage ceremony. But the vicar added this:

"Considering the great scandal which Don Enrique has caused in this province, I condemn him to give as a penance and reparation a bell of at least fifty pounds in weight, for the church at Los Angeles, which barely has a borrowed one!"²⁵ And, in accordance with this directive, a bell made by G. H. Holbrook of Massachusetts was placed in the church by Captain Fitch, where it still hangs today—an eloquent reminder of old California's most fabulous romance.

Four daughters and seven sons were born to Doña Josefa and Captain Fitch. They were, with the dates of their births: Enrique Eduardo, June 23, 1830; Frederico, June 28, 1832; Guillermo, November 7, 1834; José, March 19, 1836; Josefa, November 2, 1837; Juan, April 6, 1839; Isabella, August 24, 1840; Carlos, September 1, 1842; Miguel, November 13, 1844; María Antonia Natalia, September 19, 1846; and Anita, April 13, 1848. Two of the daughters died in 1850 and 1854. Josefa, the eldest girl, married John

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Balash (also spelled *Bailhache*) in 1856 and lived for almost fifty year on the Russian River at Healdsburg. Another daughter, Anita, became the wife of John Grant.²⁶

In later years, Captain Fitch and Doña Josefa resided in San Diego, making their home in the historic *Casa de Carrillo* which, during the 1840's, became known as the "*Fitch House*." But the interests of this couple were by no means confined to San Diego.

As early as 1832—even before the founding of the first pueblo north of San Francisco Bay—Fitch applied to the government for lands in that region. And, on September 28, 1841, he was granted the *Rancho Sotoyome*, a tract of eleven square leagues on the banks of the Russian River.²⁷ This property was placed by Fitch in the care of Cyrus Alexander, who managed the rancho for several years in the 1840's.²⁸

On July 24, 1846, Captain Fitch was granted a tract of land south of the Presidio in San Francisco on which Golden Gate Park stands today. The property was known as *Paraje del Arroyo*. Thomas Larkin mentions in his memoirs that Fitch came to San Francisco in 1847 to "take up his land" there; and the San Francisco *Californian* of October 20, 1847, reports that, after having been in San Francisco for several days, Captain Fitch had left for San Diego to attend to his official duties as Judge; but, according to the article, he was "expected back soon" to assume his residence in the northern city.²⁹ Whether or not Fitch and Doña Josefa actually lived in San Francisco is not known. But by January of 1849 they were in San Diego; for it is recorded that on the 14th of that month the Captain died at the "Fitch House" and was given the last white man's burial on Presidio Hill.³⁰

In 1850, Doña Josefa continued the management of her husband's business in San Diego. But, soon afterward, she moved north to the *Sotoyome* rancho where she and her children occupied the large, two-story adobe that had been built there a few years before. On a part of the rancho purchased from Señora Fitch soon after her arrival in the north, Harmon G. Heald laid out the town of Healdsburg in 1856.³¹

In 1874, while traveling in Southern California, Josefa made a last visit to the pueblo of San Diego and the old *Casa de Carrillo*.

At that time the house was occupied by the well-known chronicler of Southern California history, Judge Benjamin Hayes. The Judge writes in his *Emigrant Notes* that Señora Fitch pointed out to him the exact spot in the house that had been occupied fifty years before by the bed of Comandante Ruiz. And, in the old garden, she saw and easily recognized the same pear, olive, and pomegranate trees from which she had picked fruit as a child.³²

On November 26, 1875, Enrique Cerruti, a researcher for Hubert H. Bancroft, visited Doña Josefa at Healdsburg and obtained from her the *Narracion de la Sra. Viuda del Captain Enrique D. Fitch* (Narrative of the Widow Fitch). At the same time he was given a valuable collection of original documents, including Doña Josefa's famed marriage certificate and the naturalization papers of her husband.³³

In his *Historia de California*, Juan Bautista Alvarado makes an interesting comment on Señora Fitch as she was in her last years: "Mrs. Fitch has always been generous to the needy, the sick, and to works of public utility—in fact, to all but the Church. She believed that the *Padre Presidente* prompted Echeandia in his persecution of her and her husband. I have tried to convince her to the contrary; but of course it is impossible to convince an old lady that she has lived forty years under an erroneous impression."³⁴

Josefa Carrillo de Fitch was a Spanish Californian to the core:—in appearance, proud and aristocratic; in spirit, warm and generous. In her lifetime she made more than just a passing contribution to the history of her native state. And today she deserves recognition as one of early California's most colorful and influential pioneers.

Her death occurred on January 26, 1893.

NOTES

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1. Many and varied estimates of the population have been made; authority for this figure is John S. McGroarty, *California* (Los Angeles, 1911), p. 280.
2. H. H. Bancroft, *History of California*, (San Francisco, 1884-90), Vol. II p. 746.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 744.
4. San Diego Mission Records, Entry 948.
5. *Ibid.*

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6. Helen Tyler, "The Family of Pico," *Historical Society of Southern California Quarterly* (Sept., 1953), p. 333.
7. Collection of San Diego Historical Society.
8. R. W. Brackett, *History of the Ranchos of San Diego* (San Diego, 1939), p. 21.
9. Mildred Hoover and Hero Rensch, *Historic Spots in California* (Stanford, 1948), p. 49.
10. Notes for *Pioneer Register*, M. S. Bancroft Library.
11. Pio Pico, *Historia de California*, p. 185, M. S. Bancroft Library.
12. *Ibid.*
13. Notes for *Pioneer Register*; Benjamin Hayes, *Notes*, 24; M. S. Bancroft Library.
14. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, says Joaquin died sometime before 1840. In annals of Sonoma County there are numerous references to his widow, Maria Ignacia Carrillo, and her children as having been in Sonoma County as early as 1836. Carrillo's death probably took place before this time.
15. H. H. Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1884-90), Vol. III, p. 740.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 140.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 141.
18. *Ibid.*
19. *Ibid.*
20. Nellie Sanchez, *Spanish Arcadia* (Los Angeles, 1929), p. 151.
21. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, p. 142.
22. Josefa Carrillo de Fitch, *Narracion*, p. 153 of *Pioneer Sketches*; M. S. Bancroft Library.
23. *Ibid.*
24. Z. S. Eldredge, *History of California* (New York, n. d.), p. 471.
25. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, p. 144.
26. Notes of *Pioneer Register*, M. S. Bancroft Library.
27. Mildred Hoover and Hero Rensch, *Historic Spots in California* (Stanford, 1948), p. 375.
28. *Ibid.*
29. Thomas O. Larkin, *Documents*, Vol. V., p. 253; M. S. Bancroft Library.
30. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, p. 740.
31. R. A. Thompson, *Historical and Descriptive Sketch of Sonoma County* (Philadelphia, 1877), p. 89.
32. Benjamin Hayes, *Emigrant Notes*, Vol. 4, p. 721; M. S. Bancroft Library.
33. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, p. 140.
34. Juan B. Alvarado, *Historia de California*, Vol. II, pp. 140-5; M. S. Bancroft Library.

Julian Hawthorne: *Concordian in California*

By George Knox



RANKLIN WALKER, WRITING IN *A Literary History of Southern California*¹ of the "well-known literary figures who had nearly finished their careers and wished a pleasant place in which to pass their old age," allots Julian Hawthorne just one sentence. He specifies that the son of Nathaniel was one "who healed some of the scars he had suffered during an unfortunate prison sentence in Georgia by living his last years quietly in Pasadena, where he contributed frequently to the *Star-News*."² Professor Walker's statement should certainly be expanded, for all those who knew Julian personally will in a few decades have passed forever beyond the reach of biographers and literary historians. And judging from present evidences, the only son of Nathaniel will soon be forgotten in Southern California, where he was once a "well-known" literary figure. Thus, I set out to salvage something from the literary detritus of California's past and to focus on a figure that bridged the halcyon days of Concord and the mass-tract, subdivision, industrial era of the metropolitan area of Los Angeles. In the process of definition, an interesting person should take shape in the pre-smoggy pathos of distance.

Julian was born in Boston, June 22, 1846, while his father was Collector of the Port of Salem. During his childhood he attended Frank Sanborn's school and formed the many associations among the Concord group, such as with the Alcotts, that in later years filled the columns and books of reminiscences. As he wrote in 1933,³ about a year before his death, his job had been for decades to stem the tide of modern literature which had been flooding in upon him. "And especially have I striven against the pious cordiality of numerous young persons who have undertaken to expound

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and explain to modern minds certain inhabitants of nineteenth century Concord, including not a few of my relatives, friends, and acquaintances." But first to the barest facts of his career before we look at the nature of his work.

In the Fall of 1863, he matriculated at Harvard and was graduated with the class of 1867. In 1868, four years after the death of his father, Sophia Peabody Hawthorne and the children went to Europe. Sophia died in 1871, and six years later Julian's beloved sister Una, the prototype of little Pearl of *The Scarlet Letter*, also died.⁴ At Harvard Julian was an outstanding athlete in many sports and, for example, rowed in the Harvard regattas. For years he was reputed to have run from seven to fifteen miles before breakfast each day. He continued to be known as a man of virility and prowess until his 80's, when during the summers at Newport Beach, California, he outswam many a younger man. In the Pasadena years he hiked and climbed and liked to recall how as a student he boxed under John C. Heenan at Harvard. Heenan told him that "If you'll put yourself under my care I'll guarantee that in less than two years you can lick any man in America." But his father heard of this and had Julian removed from the training of Heenan, deploring a pugilist career for his son.

As a matter of fact, Nathaniel had other warnings to give; one in particular eventually went unheeded. Since his father had strongly warned against a literary career, Julian enrolled in the Lawrence Scientific School at Harvard. On the first page of *Confessions and Criticisms*⁵ he recalls how in 1869, when he was about 20, he sent a couple of sonnets to the revived *Putnam's Magazine*. "At that period I had no intention of becoming a professional writer: I was studying civil engineering at the Polytechnic School at Dresden, Saxony. Years before, I had received parental warnings — unnecessary, as I thought — against writing for a living." During the next two years, however, when he was hydrographic engineer in the New York Dock Department, he wrote a short story, called "Love and Counter-Love," which was published in *Harper's Weekly*, and for which he was paid fifty dollars. This fifty dollars turned his head.

After the period of study in The Realschule at Dresden in the

late sixties and the return to New York, he married Mary Albertina Amelung in 1870. In 1872 he was "abruptly relieved" from his duties in the Dock Department, whereupon he bought twelve reams of large letter-paper and went to work on *Bressant*. During the writing of *Bressant*, the rather detailed genesis of which can be read in his diaries, he formed the habit of working all night. From here on his literary activity was prodigious. A "purblind and delusive theory" he called the old saw that "Whatever is worth doing at all is worth doing with your best pains."⁶ But some of his works remained particularly important to him, such as *Saxon Studies*, a satirical series of essays in the tradition of Twain's *Innocents Abroad*, over which considerable critical and editorial pique was generated abroad.⁷ *Saxon Studies* appeared first in *Contemporary Review* and perhaps rightly Julian considered it his best work.

For several years he reviewed for the London *Spectator*, and in 1885, when he published *Sinfire* and *Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Wife*, he was literary critic of the New York *World*. In fact, off and on, he was attached to the staff of a number of New York newspapers. In 1889 he went to Europe in charge of a delegation of American workingmen inspecting industrial conditions abroad. In 1895 *Between Two Fires* won the New York *Herald's* \$10,000 prize competition. Under the name of Judith Hollinshed he wrote another winner while living in Jamaica. This was *A Fool of Nature* and for it he won \$10,000 from among 1,100 aspirants. In addition to lecturing, a consulship to Jamaica, he was a correspondent in India, investigating famine and plague. During the Spanish-American War he was the New York *Journal's* correspondent in Cuba.

On his return from Cuba he wrote histories, compiled and wrote short stories, syndicated feature articles, and for a number of years around the turn of the century engaged in book sales promotions. Promotion was a bad direction for Julian's genius to take, for in 1908 he dropped literature, in the belletristic sense, and spiritedly wrote tracts in the development and exploitation of a Canadian mine. Having acquired a substantial reputation in literature, Hawthorne had some initial misgivings about such use of

his talents, but there remains little doubt that his promotional prospectuses were honestly conceived and published and that Hawthorne was somehow himself promoted gullibly into a too slick operation. He and the officers and directors were indicted, tried, and convicted of using the mails to defraud in soliciting investments in the Canadian mines. Albert Freeman, the projector, had exhausted the possibilities of promotion under his own name and undoubtedly found in Julian Hawthorne and Dr. William James Morton the necessary dupes. Josiah Quincy, a former Under-Secretary of State and twice mayor of Boston, was also involved as a respectable aegis. In 1912, Morton, son of the discoverer of ether, a famous neurologist and inventor of the "Morton Current" for the X-ray process, Freeman, Hawthorne and Quincy were subjected to a fantastically drawn-out trial.

Assistant U. S. District Attorney Dorr, in summing up for the government, stated his belief that Hawthorne was imperfectly acquainted with the facts of the scheme. Nevertheless, he was convicted. Hawthorne and Dr. Morton never appealed for a new trial, whereas Albert Freeman, the instigator, got release on \$150,000 bail bond. Freeman was sentenced to five years in Atlanta Federal Penitentiary, but won release on appeal. Hawthorne and Dr. Morton served almost the full year's sentence each was awarded, disdaining to appeal what they considered injustice.⁸ During his time at Atlanta, Julian edited and wrote for *Good Words*, the prison magazine — poetry, stories, and agitations for prison reform. There he also observed his 67th birthday, receiving innumerable letters of consolation. Particularly strong in her support and comfort was his sister Rose. Rose had married George Parsons Lathrop, but when they separated she became a nun and finally a religious superior, Mother Alphonsa. (Today, aside from a rather considerable literary output, she is remembered as the founder of sisterhoods and hospitals devoted to cancer care and study.) After his release he wrote *The Subterranean Brotherhood*, an embittered outpouring of his prison sufferings and trenchant plea for reforms. He then moved to California to begin a second career, so to speak, primarily of feature writing, reviewing, and reminiscing. Following the death of his first wife in Georgetown, Connecticut, he mar-

ried artist Edith Garrigues in San Diego in 1925.⁹ At 82, he published *Shapes That Pass*¹⁰ while living in Pasadena. It was his last book.

As a defender of the past, Julian was constantly drawn into conflicts, as when, for example, in 1876 he was irritated with G. P. Lathrop, his brother-in-law, over Lathrop's biography of Nathaniel. Lathrop was assistant editor of *Atlantic Monthly* under William Dean Howells at that time. Julian's fight with Lowell over an interview published in the *New York World* (1886) created international amusement and irritation.¹¹ One of his later tiltings occurred in 1932, when Professor Randall Stewart of Yale attacked Elizabeth Peabody Hawthorne's job of editing the Hawthorne Journals.¹² Consequently, when moved to California he brought Concord with him, but the discord of Concord. But Julian might be claimed as a California writer before he took up residence, for in the 90's he wrote for Los Angeles newspapers, particularly the *Times*. For the Los Angeles *Examiner* he wrote articles on Southwest development. From 1901 through 1908 he contributed to Gaylord Wilshire's *The Challenge and Wilshire's Magazine*.¹³ Evidently Wilshire tried to bring him into the old Los Angeles *Graphic*, a weekly, after the Atlanta imprisonment; but the *Graphic* editor allegedly snubbed Hawthorne, stating afterward that he felt Julian had sullied a noble name. But Wilshire is said to have supported Julian in his old age, allowing Julian and his wife to live in a cottage on his estate in Pasadena.

Harold Carew, literary editor of the *Star-News* in those days, began running Julian's contributions on the literary page. These columns continued for eleven years directly from Julian's pen, and if we can trust his journals,¹⁴ the compensation was small indeed. After his death, July 21, 1934, Edith kept the column going, out of an apparently inexhaustible store of notes. Most of the posthumous material, both previously published and unpublished essays, she collected and issued as *The Memoirs of Julian Hawthorne*. With Edith's death, January 5, 1949, Julian's career formally ended. He left in manuscript countless drafts of articles and novels, diaries, reminiscences, poems and the haphazard fragments of the inveterate paper-saver.

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Perhaps the last public appearance Julian made was on the occasion of his 85th birthday. A dinner was given in his honor at the Huntington Hotel in Pasadena, a celebration planned by Harold D. Carew, toastmaster for the event. Charles H. Prisk, editor and manager of the newspaper spoke first, relating his first meeting with Julian and the arrangements for the work that filled a decade of *Star-News* columns. Miss Helen Haines, a perceptive reviewer and critic, who lives in Pasadena with her sister, Mrs. Baskin, gave the major address. Over 300 prominent literary figures attended, and hundreds of congratulatory messages testified to Julian's world-wide popularity. Among messages from Europe, came a cable from G. B. Shaw: "What! Julian still alive! I have mourned him for years! Are you sure he isn't an imposter? However, I hope not. If you are convinced of his genuineness, give him my kindest regards."

Most of Julian's writing in California is a recast of what he had already said elsewhere, excluding, of course, certain detailed descriptions of persons and events hitherto unpublished. Thus, without attempting a consideration of his total output, either as fiction writer, critic, biographer, casual journalist, or whatever, I think some representative selections from his critical works will indicate the major problems of his career and the major directions of his thinking. Some of this more general statement can be adequately buttressed by occasional specific reference to his columns in the *Star-News*. In order to evaluate the corpus of his works one would have to take up a mass of critical opinion, most of it preconceived and biased by *a priori* assumptions about his father's work. And one would have to work out a much more elaborate biographical study than is possible in an essay in order to gauge accurately Julian's own foibles, prejudices, and peevishness. Perhaps he deserves this more than a short essay. However, I think a prologue such as this is perfectly proper ground work.

First, we should realize his position as the son of a great man, and sympathize with all the difficulties he inherited when trying to succeed on the great man's own ground. Nathaniel was a specter constantly before him in memory, an image of achievement which he never really hoped to equal, an image which his contemporaries, moreover, would never allow him to equal. This image of a glori-

ous past was an awesome edifice in the shadow of which Julian's present was but pigmy imitation and simulacrum. He had constantly to confess his own limitations. Writing once of Mrs. Henry Wood, author of *East Lynne*¹⁵ Julian reflected: "If I enjoy a superiority over her, it is that when I come across some of my own rubbish, I know it," and he added that she, fortunately, had not possessed any such torturing self-consciousness and sense of inferior talent as his own.

He also confessed once in *Lippincott's*¹⁶ that he had never found the literary profession, in and for itself, entirely agreeable.

Almost everything that I have written has been written from necessity; and there is very little of it that I shall not be glad to see forgotten. The true rewards of literature, for men of limited calibre, are the incidental ones, — the valuable friendships and the charming associations which it brings about. For the sake of these I would willingly endure again many passages of a life that has not been all roses; not that I would appear to belittle my own work: it does not need it.

From time to time describing the receptions accorded to various of his works, he inclines to recall the disparities between intention and execution, between the originating stimulus and the subsequent exigencies, such as the perversities of language and the pressures of editors. In the case of *Bressant*, he recounted the kindly reviews but lamented the usual pose which critics took anent the presumptuous son of a genius. But he characteristically tried to allay his bitterness with bland irony.

This sentiment, whatever its bearing upon me, has undoubtedly been of service to my critics: it gives them something to write about. A disquisition upon the mantle of Nathaniel Hawthorne, and an analysis of the differences and similarities between him and his successor, generally fill so much of a notice as to enable the reviewer to dismiss the book itself very briefly.¹⁷

As a result of such extrinsic criticism Julian often turned to his diaries and journals for self-questioning and out-pouring of uneasiness about a literary career, private fears to which the readers of his rather off-hand columns would never penetrate.

One of the lengthiest of these can be found in his diary of November, 1883,¹⁸ where he swears he will not undertake another novel and ascribes the failure of his fiction to various causes, one

being his inability to cater to popular tastes. He also realized something of the anomalous nature of his work as a sport or hybrid product, a strange cross between the Gothic and the Realistic. Another reason was his own inability to believe in his characters and his proneness to treat them capriciously. Further, he felt that he really had no deep regard, only a theoretical one, for people. Failing to "create" (being inspirationist he distrusted the "creative" concept) any convincing character in the dozen or more volumes he wrote, Julian was willing to chalk it up to his dominant interest in "complication" rather than in what his father would have called problems of the human heart. He was never, taking his reminiscences as a whole, an accurate observer in the sense that James was, although some of his most vigorous descriptions resulted from his attempts to capture the spirit of James. He knew too much theoretically and not enough practically. This forced him to think of people abstractly and to create fictional characters thrice-removed from "real life."

Posing as a student and portrayer of character he suffered the inner conviction that he was trying to speed successfully in a direction he was least fitted to go. Consequently, he also recognized that for his lack of emotional sympathy he had to overcompensate by coaching an "indolent, cold, and indifferent imagination." Julian's big trouble, I should insist, was that according to his inspirational esthetic, he felt guilty (insincere) when he had to contrive what at the moment of writing he did not deeply feel. Thus, in moments of disappointment he could accuse himself bitterly: "I am too certain, too flippant, too indifferent to everything, truth included. I have no reverence for anything, and would sacrifice anything, truth included, for the sake of a startling or picturesque effect."

And when Julian indulged his down-spiraling self-examinations he inevitably levelled out on the plateau of self-effacement, of Gide-like assuming of masks and roles, but without the self-conscious artistry in self-portraiture that Gide possessed.

I notice, in my association with men that I very seldom — I may almost say never — show more than one facet of myself. Why not? The reason is, a shyness, connected with vanity and with timidity. I desire

to be thought a superior person, and I desire to be on genial terms with those I meet; but I'm invariably conscious of not being so much a man as I would fain appear. But this disengenuousness and acting in me, so monopolises my care and attention, that I am able to spare very little for my interlocutor; in preventing him from getting a square look at me, I prevent myself from getting a square look at him; and the crisp of the joke . . . is, that, after all, people estimate me at pretty nearly what I am worth; failing to appreciate some good points, but, on the other hand, ignoring many successfully-conceded bad ones. I know this, and yet I keep up the masquerade. And the result is, that men are to me either fools or foes, according to the degree of their strength and penetration. I get on much better with women, because I can more easily and completely subdue them; and also for other reasons . . . but neither do they know me.¹⁹

Whether or not we accept such probings as attempts to avoid the real issue, — realization that he lacked solid genius — and to create a more complex personality than he actually had, we do see the pervasive feeling of aloneness. His isolation was not, however, like his father's, which was cultural and esthetic more than psychological.

Julian could, in spite of his self-dramatizations, analyze the works of the great novelists with sound results, and from a number of such analyses he could deduce a paradigm of the great novel; but he was annihilated because he couldn't write one himself. He could not represent life in its roundness and completeness, but in some one-sided advocate's view, something contrived for the moment. How could he ever achieve that balance between spirit and mystery on one side and flesh-and-blood and realistic matter-of-factness on the other? Striving to emulate Nathaniel's "romance" he erred toward mystery, mystification, and grotesquerie. His own pre-occupation with self-analysis led him to work up characters who were case studies in "complexes." Trying scientifically to explain the fantastic and the bizarre, he constructed gargoyles.

Yet, as he grew older he became resigned to being merely the son of Nathaniel Hawthorne and not an estimable writer in his own right or one who might someday be great. The twilight years in California are pervaded by this semi-serenity, but constantly disturbed, as I pointed out, by compulsions to defend his

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family past. In *Westways* for June, 1934,²⁰ the year of his death, he reflected on his past, the athletic years of youth, and then turned to his literary career, about to close. As one reads this, if he is familiar with the *Star-News* columns, one recalls an essay on Thomas Bailey Aldrich published a few years earlier.²¹ Aldrich was a long-time friend about whom Julian debated whether he were a poet or merely a "wit." He concludes that Aldrich was not a poet, although a fair critic and a good editor of *Atlantic*. We are struck by what Julian states of Aldrich's own knowledge that he was no poet and how his limitations embittered him for a long time. This characteristically sets Julian going on his own shortcomings and the flaws of his works as he speculates that:

The story of their conception, birth, and fortunes would be amusing; and of half a dozen of them I am not ashamed. Their reception was kindly; the son of a good man gets attention at least, and his shortcomings are as often condoned as attacked; and critics in newspapers and magazines are secretly thankful to him for the paragraph about heredity with which the review begins.

Julian had made this observation as a rejoinder to a reporter who interviewed him at his house at Newport Beach, California.

Not only did he have to suffer invidious comparisons, he had to uphold the high conception of his father and his father's contemporaries. In this crusade he probably wrote more about Nathaniel Hawthorne than any other person. At every turn someone was needling him for information, implying that he was withholding vital facts about his father's life and work. What happened to the Melville-Hawthorne letters? What had motivated this or that member of his family to do this or that action. Julian finally became chronically sarcastic and pecky when asked for biographical information. After one such interview, he wrote irritably:²²

Intensive study reveals that this Hawthorne wrote a novel called "The Scarlet Letter," and likewise begot a son after the flesh, who, improbable though it may seem, is still living. Obviously, then, the first step of a would-be biographer is to locate his son and put him to the question. Let this person then disclose whatever biographical details he may possess, and our enterprise is well under way. This is better or at least easier than to consult libraries for such data, if any such exist; and the son

should be eager to gratify a curiosity all the more complimentary because so belated.

Tired out by such importunings and presumptions intrusions, Hawthorne testily told young biographers to turn to the journals of his father. The secret is there. Let them find it for themselves. "It is not an easy enigma, but the elements of the solution are there. Art may reveal the artist, but it conceals the Man. He does not himself know what he becomes after passing into the chamber of the Muse."²³ Here, essentially, he was answering them with his muse theory, the inspirational, infusionary esthetic to which he always adhered.

For Julian, no complete expression was possible without "inspiration," and this constitutes the basic message of the *Star-News* columns, insofar as they offered advice to aspiring writers. He inherited the Tolstoian theory of sincerity, which came into American criticism, probably, through Howells, Emerson, and Crane and continues to modern times in I. A. Richards. To Julian, "he who is the subject of the inspiration can account no better than any one else for the result which art accomplishes through him. The perfect poem is found, not made; the mind which utters it did not invent it."²⁴ Emerson was his favorite poet and he never tired of comparing him with the moderns, who, of course, fell miserably short. With Emerson he associated the windharp which was fixed in a tree in front of the house. Julian had often listened raptly to the moaning of the winds through this romantic instrument, and as a writer held himself up analogously in function, a receiver of the infusions from Concord. In his literary criticism he claimed to exalt the search for "spirit," which gives art "universality"; and consonant with this stand he bemoaned photographic realism, the "new gospel of the auctioneer's catalogue, and the crackling of thorns under a pot. He who deals with facts only, deprives his work of gradation and distinction."²⁵ He scorned those who "adopt the scientific method of merely collecting and describing phenomena" and made a plea for "structure," "controlling idea," and "underlying emotional maturity" as the cohesive architectural elements in all writing.

Adapting his father's theory of romance and adherence to

truths of the "heart," Julian strove to implant the need of "ideality" in the practice of his contemporaries. He held that:

Ideality and imagination are themselves merely the symptom or expression of the faculty and habit of spiritual or subjective intuition—a faculty of paramount value in life, though of late years, in the rush of rational knowledge and discovery, it is fallen into neglect . . . It undoubtedly belongs to an abstruse region of psychology; but its meaning for our present purpose is simply the act of testing questions of the moral consciousness by an inward touchstone of truth, instead of by external experience or information.²⁶

Although training to think like a scientist, Julian defected toward fantasy. He had listened too long to the oracles of Concord and had drunk the transcendental milk of paradise. For him, literature was always best defined as "the written communications of the soul of mankind with itself."²⁷ The Emersonian-Carlylean esthetics emerged in his definition of art as "the imaginative expression of a divine life in man." It depended for its worth and veracity, not upon adherence to scientific exactitude or verification of literal fact, but upon "its perception and portrayal of the underlying truth, of which fact is but the phenomenal and imperfect shadow."²⁸

Although he made a case for the vigor of American Literature as much as or more than any one of his time he felt that America was not the ideal place to stimulate "romance."²⁹ There was, on the other hand, plenty of stimulus in America for the realist, limited though it might be in comparison with the possibilities for a realism of manner in Europe. But in addition to the faithful and objective study of nature, the novelist must aim for a loftier reality, and this must be evolved from an adequate knowledge of nature itself. This imaginative process was in a way itself scientific for it doubted and rejected the lifeless and the insincere. But it was precisely in being *merely* scientific that American realists were inadequate. As much as he disliked certain aspects of Zola, the Goncourts, and continental realists generally, he was constantly defending them as craftsmen, as being more aware and mature artists than American realists. In the work of Zola he rejected what he found often in American realism: "a mixture of the police gazette and the medical reporter."³⁰ Even in Howells and James, whom he more admired than condemned over the years, he found more "realism of texture" and

less of "form and relation." Such realism encouraged near-sighted reading instead of comprehension.³¹ Howells, he said, had "produced a great deal of finely wrought tapestry; but does not seem, as yet, to have found a hall fit to adorn it with."³²

If Julian too often came close to the Sunday Supplement kind of romance in his own practice, he never condoned it as a critic. He particularly deplored modern sentimental excursions into half-imaginary past events which masquerade as historical novels. He denounced the mass of "false and sentimental and tawdry rubbish" that has been "foisted upon us under the guise of historical romance" for "The accents of the literary huckster are heard in every line indited by the authors of these lifeless mongrels."³³ He castigated his contemporary critics and novelists for seeing too much agnosticism and for not having strong convictions. Ironically, for the same reason, his own "romances" rang false. The attempts by late 19th century and early twentieth century realists to "portray existence in its naked and unconsecrated lineaments," he evaluated as transient productions, although "normal." We must not decry such writing as bad or a waste of time, but condition our taste so that we detect counterfeits and beware of them, whether counterfeit realists or counterfeit romances.³⁴

When he could not admire Howells he condemned him; Howells succeeded because of his foibles and because of his mediocre contemporaries as much as for the innate greatness of his works.³⁵ Even Thackeray was too much occupied with minutiae and topical matters.³⁶ D. H. Lawrence's failure lay in his inability to show the spiritual side except through the too fleshly, and by the same token, the popularity of his books was a symptom of the defect in the moral tone of our civilization.³⁷ In the typically wry mood of the Pasadena days, he pled that he and other "old fogies" of literature might not "clutter the paths of Olympus trodden by the aspiring feet of our joyous choir of Gertrude Steins and Ernest Hemingways."³⁸ Yet, hard as he could be on the "moderns" Julian was unflagging in his attacks on anyone who recommended they be censored or suppressed.

If in his own fiction Julian tried to command two fronts, in a great degree incompatible, — a superficial dramatic and narrative

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similitude and completeness, and a unity of eerie impressionism — he was nevertheless able to recognize the proper balance in others. In Howells and James he saw “texture” brought to a fineness never surpassed. Moreover, they had “discovered charm and grace in much that was only blank before.” They had “detected and described points of human nature hitherto unnoticed, which, if not intrinsically important, will one day be made auxiliary to the production of pictures of broader as well as minuter veracity than have heretofore been produced. All that seems wanting thus far is a direction, an aim, a belief.”³⁹ In his remarks on James we find the problem of realism vs. ideality being dealt with quite soundly.

In some of James’s earlier tales, such as “The Madonna of the Future,” he found a balance of the realistic, the fanciful and the ideal.

He seemed to feel the attraction of fairyland, but to lack resolutions to swallow it whole; so, instead of idealizing both persons and plot, as Hawthorne had ventured to do, he tried to persuade real persons to work out an ideal destiny. But the tact, delicacy, and reticence with which these attempts were made did not blind him to the essential incongruity; either realism or idealism had to go, and step by step he dismissed the latter, until at length Turgenieff’s current caught him. By this time, however, his culture had become too wide, and his independent views too confirmed, to admit of his yielding unconditionally to the great Russian.⁴⁰

Starting from James and Howells he envisioned an American literature which would “rest neither in the tragic gloom of Turgenieff nor in the critical composure of James, nor in the genteel deprecation of Howells.” A new, strong American Literature should demonstrate that the weakness of man is the motive and condition of his strength. Consequently, it would not flounder in the despair and immature cynicism of naturalism.

It will not shrink from romance, nor from ideality, nor from artistic completeness, because it will know at what depths and heights of life these elements are truly operative. It will be American, not because its scene is laid or its characters born in the United States, but because its burden will be reaction against old tyrannies and exposure of new hypocrisies; a refutation of respectable falsehoods, and a proclamation of unsophisticated truths.⁴¹

He saw his responsibility as a literary-page critic to be the

proclamation of a doctrine of cleansing and renewing.⁴² He also pled for a professional seriousness,⁴³ for a sturdy ideal of craftsmanship. But mere hack work, which he found Trollope sometimes guilty of, could never insure artistic satisfaction or enlighten public taste.

Joiner-work is still useful in its way, but it is of another stature; it can fabricate detective yarns, but cannot compose a line to prevent the ultimate yawn and a single line of the *Iliad* astounds all the laborious investigations of all the penny-a-liners of existence. The tired business man may welcome it, but memory does not justify it. Imagination laid the foundations of Athens and Rome, but the Tower of Babel was built on sand and passed away.⁴⁴

Julian's own work, his detective stories, for instance, ever fell short of his critical standards. His Byronic heroes with twentieth century "complexes" did not satisfy him.

Yet Julian was honest. He admitted his faults and admonished the writer to turn wherever he might find his métier. American literature needed everything it could ingest and assimilate. Americanism was a point of view, a way of thinking; and Julian, in this contention, is important in tempering the tradition of nationalism in American criticism.

Let us not refuse to breathe the air of Heaven, lest there be something European or Asian in it. If we cannot have a national literature in the narrow, geographical sense of the phrase, it is because our inheritance transcends all geographical distinctions. The great American novel may not be written this year, or even in this century. Meanwhile, let us not fear to ride to death, whatever species of Pegasus we can catch. It can do us no harm, and it may help us to acquire a firmer seat against the time when our own, our very own winged steed makes his appearance.⁴⁵

Readers of Julian's criticism will find him objectivist, for he asserted that fiction should tell us, not what ought to happen, but what, as a matter of fact does happen. If this seems to go against his romancer and idealist tendencies, we should see that he is also anti-moralist. From his critical position, "the God of the orthodox moralist is not the God of human nature."

Although he never became a Swedenborgian, he flirted with Swedenborgian thought. Although not an orthodox socialist, in

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theory he espoused politically libertarian principles. Although never an advocate of immorality, he proposed "unmorality" to the more legalistic Victorian critics. He found that "art dwindles in direct proportion as the moralize deity expatriates; in fact, they are incompatible."⁴⁶ So, instead of pleading that art should be moral, he pled that all true morality is art, and that art is finally the testing ground of our morality. That is, he anticipated later criticism of James's achievement, Blackmuir's, for example.

He saw in James's work that living was made a kind of art, and that a Jamesian character who lived fully was a kind of artist. He saw how James made his reader earn with the fictional character the moral lesson of life. He saw that James always intended to produce a certain effect for a very special purpose, and that he bent everything to cooperate in that result.

He is working with two motives in view, one being the old-fashioned one of conveying to your mind a perception of the characters and events which constitute the 'story'. But the motive is subordinate to another, which is to conduct you to this perception by a certain special route, or after special initiation.

You are to be delayed altogether for a while by a thickset hedge of phrases, as the prince was held from the castle of the Sleeping Beauty by seemingly impenetrable thorns and briars. If you are not of his audience, you will become discouraged and go no farther. But if you are a real prince, you will persist, and the hedge gives way before you, though still these eccentric growths delay you, and determine by what course you shall reach your quarry.

The penetrating attitude of mind which has been begotten in you prepares you to divine the delicate nuances and insights of the episodes and traits of character, which otherwise you would have missed. You presently become interested in a manner and in things, which are unique in fiction . . . You have in some way collaborated in it; you and the author have been at work.⁴⁷

Julian was thus a competent judge of style and he refused to trace simple casual lines between author and work. Rather, he looked to the work in order to make inferences about the author's method and thought. "My Aunt Lizzie was a Christian whether she knew it or not; her life proved it."⁴⁸

His literary theory carries us over easily and naturally into his political writing, both being supported by Emersonian and Carly-

lean tenets. This is not to equate Emerson and Caryle, but I think a quotation can clearly illustrate the fusion, or admixture. He felt that a literary work is not merely a revelation of the author, for:

No artist worthy the name ever dreams of putting himself into his work, but only what is infinitely distinct from and other than himself. It is not the poet who brings forth the poem, but the poem that begets the poet; it makes him, creates in him the poetic faculty. Those whom we called great men, the heroes of history, are but the organs of the great crises and opportunities.⁴⁹

One might claim that this statement is primarily Emersonian, being more in agreement with *Representative Men* than with *Heroes and Hero-Worship*.⁵⁰ Perhaps one had better leave the matter vague than try to pin down specific references. But we do have a major record of Julian's sociological-esthetic effusions in *Wilshire's Magazine*. For example, in a review of *Discourses of Keidansky*,⁵¹ entitled "Society at a Pregnant Moment" Julian reveals the germ of his sociological-esthetic, or metaphysical theory of society.⁵²

Society is at an interesting and pregnant moment now; and an order of things radically new is about to appear. A double movement is going on; — that of God, moving toward the co-operative brotherhood of the race, but on a plane not reached by the consciousness of the individual, and therefore not constraining his free-will; and that of man, the creature, self-consciousness, obstructive, perplexed, finite, but unawares carrying out God's purpose. It is the function of a true seer not to abuse but to discriminate and to detect the deep and all controlling sweep of the tide from underneath the surface currents and wind-flurries.

Thus, to Julian, who was of the Utopian-Socialist cast, socialism was "a truly universal posture of the human mind (in the not remote future)," and a means, furthermore, of "relieving us of most of the burden of laboring for the bare means of subsistence" so that we have the "opportunity to study the arts which beautify and ennoble life."⁵³

One overcomes selfhood⁵⁴ both as artist and as citizen. Individuality and identity mean different things, for the achieving of one's identity is the achieving of consubstantiality with all men and with the continuum of art. The individual, Julian felt, suffers a delusion when he thinks himself absolutely a unique integer.⁵⁵

Therefore, the overcoming of self-consciousness is a stage in

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arriving at artistic objectivity. One lets "inspiration" realize itself in overcoming the social ego and allowing society to evolve "naturally" towards Socialism.⁵⁶

Art has always produced itself spontaneously, and the rules for it were made afterwards. Human nature always needs it, and always will, probably; but not always in certain conventional forms. There may be periods when the art idea will not consent to incarnate itself in any visible symbol; yet those periods may turn out to be not the least pregnant and progressive eras of art development.

Julian openly expressed his enthusiasm about Socialism around the turn of the century, but he later recognized that its seduction had been possible because of his naivete in many respects. It had pointed to the marriage between what he saw as the ideal and the actual, the theoretic and the practical. The American nation was a symbol, or should be, of this marriage.

As in his notions about what constituted an American Literature, his Socialism reflected a kind of Blakean proposition, i.e., that "America" is a state capable of being incarnated anywhere. But, practically, he felt that "spiritual democracy" had its best chance of fulfillment in the United States. Following a Whitmanesque cue, he contended that America began with "soul," with the generating motive of communal selflessness, or, in short, with a socialistic "idea" of government.

The soul of the true America is now, as at first it was, Socialism—or I don't mind calling it Industrial Democracy, if you prefer — and though during the past century or two we have grown upon our clean body all manner of goitres, carbuncles, and cancers, leprosies and small-pox pustules, outcome of our spiritual sins of capitalism, oligarchies, trusts, bosses, civic indifferences, and the like, that true and inalienable soul will at last avouch itself, and restore our primitive healthy complexion. The nation, being a soul, was bound like individual souls to pass through hell on its way to regeneration; but is even more certain than the individual soul to get there. For the individual soul is subject to free-will, but the national soul is under unconscious and therefore inevitable Divine guidance, and must come out right anyway.⁵⁷

Stated as a formula, Julian's concept might be simply: Americanism is an idea, and that idea is emerging Socialism.

In his first article for *Wilshire's Magazine* (then called *The*

Challenge) Julian talked of "natural law" in opposition to statutory, legislative, and "bench law," which he maintained was erected and sustained to protect wealth-holding privilege. His thinking had not yet been tempered exactly to the views of the magazine and he was disciplined harshly in editorial brackets.⁵⁸ He had got rather carried away with the imminence of strike and revolution, prophesying eventual hanging of some great capitalists. The editors intruded at this point to denounce his "rough-house hanging theory" as the private property of newspaper men and rich but timid old ladies. Consequently, Julian later made his statement more transcendental. For example:

Thus, though there must be a revolution, either mild or violent, there will be no destruction of tissue, but only a freeing thereof from the lesions, more or less deeply seated, of induced disease.⁵⁹

Obviously, Julian's Socialistic thinking was as full of paradoxes as Jack London's, but typically it held something peculiar for him alone. This was a concept of personal liberty translated in terms of an artistic-oriented community. Marx he rejected rather summarily,⁶⁰ in preference for what might be called a concept of Christian unmoralism. Here he dressed up his spontaneity, or voluntaristic esthetic, again. He thought in terms of a Christ-like rebellion against the letter-of-the-law kind of obedience, conceiving the Decalogue as a stage in man's evolution toward a lawless community. He avoided the term "morality" in his theory because that implied a pawnbroker God, and a legalistic minded citizenry who think that by devotion to state-sanctioned precepts they inherit everlasting blessedness. Instead of enlightened selfishness he advocated "enlightened selflessness." A spontaneous and unmoral man would be the vessel of art and virtue, for

the life of man under Socialism must not be virtuous, self-conscious, or moral, nor immoral, of course, either, but unmoral, spontaneous, unself-conscious, selfless, realizing self only in others, and, therefore, really for the first time in history *good*. If Socialism were to be a sort of paternalized morality, it would produce a worse hell upon earth than has ever yet been known here — and that is saying much . . .⁶¹

However, inspirationalists and voluntarists are notoriously reluctant, or unable, to "explain" how an art work or the social millen-

ium evolves. Having traced his theories from under Emersonian templates, he diverged farther and farther from Nathaniel's thinking.

In his later days he was thus able to extend his esthetic into a political dimension, seeing art as one of the great social functions of mankind, appreciation being a kind of ownership. In pious transport, he began asking artists to grow big enough and the citizenry humane enough to qualify for his semi-religious brand of socialism. His role as a writer for socialism was to foment the sense of brotherhood through art. Artists put themselves automatically in harmony with "natural law" and hence can never be anarchistic; only the student of art, the dilettante, and the poseur can be anarchistic.

Persons of true artistic temperament are at bottom (or at top) socialists, as soon as they think it out. Art may be regarded as the good of the individual universalized for the good of the many. The artist gets his personal impression of beauty in a subject, and he plucks out its soul, and represents it as a work of art, which others, seeing it, and consulting their own personal experience, recognize as beautiful and true, only elevated somewhat above what they have personally felt and seen.⁶²

Thus he attempted to conjoin a political philosophy with an artistic purpose, and if the attitudes sound a bit too coached, the gestures look a bit too stagey, it betokens Julian's guilelessness. He was not dishonest.

Nor was he always naive. He was a man of paradoxes, as the incidents connected with his mining promotion (taken together with his professed Socialism) reveal. But in purely literary matters he was more sound. If we follow the *Star-News* columns from December 28, 1925, we see, for example, how he took strong issue with Lowes' assumptions about Coleridge's imagination,⁶³ recognized the value of Norman Foerster's *American Criticism*,⁶⁴ repeatedly justified the complexity of James's style, and made judgments of Howells that square with such estimable critics as Lionel Trilling. Quiescent yet circumspect in those California sunsets, he carried on steadily the fight for high standards in American literature, acidly attacking the easy biographers, translators who posed

as original artists, and the hucksters who he felt were producing most twentieth century literature.

Nearby, he could see the great Hollywood mills of ersatz glamor and artistic pretentiousness. He could demolish this world by holding it up to the reflections of Concord, a world whose bright emanations were dulled by the dark glasses the hucksters had fit readers with. He felt that the Hollywood world was promoting patterns of mediocrity, of unimaginative uniformity. Unfortunately, American art seemed drifting toward such stultification and Americans increasingly lured on by the lotus blossom, eternal youth images of the cinema.

Now, the effigies of these beautiful young persons, with their fadeless smiles of satisfaction and delight, adorning pages of our leading periodicals or emblazoning the fences of our daily walks, and all revealing their lustrous and impeccable teeth, back to the ultimate molar, — must inevitably convince the present generation, even in periods of depression, that the declaration of Browning's 'Pippa' understates the truth. True, the family resemblance between many of them might lead to the suspicion that the artists or photographers have fallen under the spell of one or two particular cynosures, male or female, so that the whole litter of beauty may be less numerous than we had assumed, and our young Greek gods and goddesses less invariable.⁶⁵

And so he wrote in those days for the people who are still glad to reminisce about Julian Hawthorne, and of his endless excursions into the past; who reminisce about the days when Julian sat with Hamlin Garland and talked of their youth and their conversations with Tennyson and Browning, of Margaret Fuller and Louisa May Alcott. For others, who were children when their parents knew him, the memories are dimmer. Logan Wilshire recalls that in his childhood he knew Julian Hawthorne as "a Jovian character, remote and unapproachable, and somewhat shabby in the genteel tradition. There was a sadness at the back of his eyes and little was left of the Harvard oar and blood. Yet, he remained a noble ruin."

NOTES

1. Los Angeles and Berkeley, University of California Press, 1950.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 257-258.
3. Pasadena *Star-News*, Sat., July 29, 1933; hereafter abbreviated S-N. All references will be to the Book Page, or Literary Page, as it was variously called.

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4. See diaries, Rare Book Dept., Berkeley.
5. Boston, Ticknor and Co., 1887; hereafter abbreviated *C&C*.
6. *C&C*, 16-17.
7. E.g., *S-N*, Oct. 22, 1932.
8. See Julian's letters, e.g., to Hon. H. J. Bryan, Washington, D.C., March 24, 1913 and regarding friends' appeal for his pardon from Pres. Wilson, in the UC collection at Berkeley; also letters with various potential California investors prior to the trial, in UCLA collection. Also, *The Subterranean Brotherhood*, New York, McBride, Nast, and Co., 1914.
9. See sketch and photograph of Edith in Los Angeles *Evening Express*, Wed., November 3, 1920; also Monday, December 6, 1920. See vita on file at H. F. Suhr Co., Inc., 2219 Mission St., San Francisco 10; Edith's marriage, San Francisco *Examiner*, July 11, 1925, p. 44, col. 1, and San Francisco *Chronicle*, July 11, 1925, p. 1, col. 2; Obit., San Francisco *Chronicle*, Jan. 7, 1949, p. 22, col. 1.
10. Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1928.
11. See my "The Lowell-Hawthorne Affair," *New England Quarterly*.
12. See *NY Times*, Dec. 5, 15:7 (review of Stewart's ed. of Hawthorne's Notebooks; Dec. 6, 4:3 (Julian attacks Stewart; Dec. 6, 20:5 (editorial).
13. Julian's "Imperial Millions" ran serially in the *New York People* beginning May 31, 1891.
14. See journals at UC, Berkeley.
15. "A Forgotten 'Best Seller,'" *S-N*, November 28, 1931.
16. Also appears in *C&C*, 15 ff.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 11.
18. UC, Berkeley, November 9-10, pp. 12-16. Cf. "Question for Novelists," *S-N*, Oct. 1, 1932.
19. UC, Berkeley, Diary for Nov. 9, 1883, p. 14.
20. Raine Bennett, "The Hawthornes Carry On," *Westways*, 26:18, 19, 32, June, 1934.
21. *S-N*, November 21, 1931.
22. *S-N*, March 18, 1933.
23. *Ibid.*, May 6, 1933.
24. "The Moral Aim in Fiction," *C&C*, p. 136. Cf. *S-N*, Feb. 27, 1932; *S-N*, March 5, 1932; *S-N*, Nov. 12, 1932.
25. "Novels and Agnosticism," *C&C*, p. 38. Cf. "What is Good in Literature," *S-N*, Nov. 12, 1932; "On the Making of Books," *S-N*, June 3, 1933; "In the Days of the Giants," *S-N*, March 19, 1932; "Fiction as Art and Trade," *S-N*, June 18, 1932.
26. "Literature for Children," *C&C*, p. 112. Cf., e.g., "Fairy Tales and Ghosts," *S-N*, Nov. 19, 1932; *S-N*, Aug. 19, 1933; *S-N*, Sept. 16, 1933; Julian wrote a number of fairy tales for children, including "Rumpty-Dudget's Tower," in 1879.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 102.
28. "The Moral Aim in Fiction," *C&C*, p. 134.
29. "Americanism in Fiction," *C&C*, p. 88.
30. "Novels and Agnosticism," *C&C*, p. 59.
31. *Ibid.*, 64-65.
32. *Ibid.*, 67-68. Cf.: *S-N*, Oct. 31, 1931 (Twain); *S-N*, Nov. 28, 1931 (Galsworthy, Balzac); *S-N*, March 12, 1932 (best-sellers); *S-N*, Jan. 20, 1934 (Howells); and *S-N*, Feb. 10, 1934 (James).
33. *S-N*, Dec. 2, 1933.
34. *S-N*, Dec. 9, 1933.
35. *S-N*, Jan. 20, 1934.
36. *S-N*, March 19, 1932.
37. *S-N*, May 28, 1932.
38. *S-N*, Sept. 20, 1933.
39. "Novels and Agnosticism," *C&C*, p. 68. Cf. "The Art of Henry James," *S-N*, Feb. 10, 1934.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 61-62.
41. *Ibid.*, p. 70.
42. *S-N*, May 13, 1933.
43. *S-N*, June 18, 1932.
44. *S-N*, Aug. 12, 1933.
45. "Americanism in Fiction," *C&C*, p. 99.
46. "The Moral Aim in Fiction," *C&C*, p. 131.
47. *S-N*, Feb. 10, 1934.

48. *S-N*, Sept. 16, 1933.
49. "The Moral Aim in Fiction," *C&C*, 136-137.
50. See "Delight, the Soul of Art," *Wilshire's Magazine*, August, 1903, pp. 14-16; hereafter abbreviated *WM*.
51. Edited by Bernard G. Richards, Scott-Thaw Co., New York.
52. *Wilshire's Magazine*, Vol. 6, No. 9, Sept. 1904, pp. 384-385.
53. "Women and Socialism," *WM*, Vol. 6, No. 5, May 1904, pp. 231-233.
54. Cf. "The Moral Aim in Fiction," *C&C*, pp. 136-137.
55. See "Cosmic Consciousness," *WM*, July 1903, pp. 66-70.
56. "Delight, the Soul of Art," *WM*, August 1903, pp. 14-16. A review of *Delight, the Soul of Art*, by Arthur Jerome Eddy, Lippincott, Philadelphia, 1903.
57. "The Soul of America," *WM*, April 1902, pp. 14-20.
58. "Rockefeller. Morgan & Co.," *The Challenge*, Vol. 2, No. 6, Feb. 27, 1901, pp. 1-2.
59. "The Reign of Law," *WM*, Vol. 9, No. 7, Dec. 1905, p. 7.
60. "Personal Liberty in Socialism," *WM*, Vol. 10, No. 12, Dec. 1906, p. 7.
61. *Ibid.*
62. "The Individual Universalized," *WM*, Vol. 10, No. 1, Jan. 1906, p. 12.
63. *S-N*, Oct. 3, 1931.
64. *S-N*, April 29, 1933.
65. *S-N*, Oct. 7, 1933.

Errata

We have been asked to make the following corrections in the December, 1956, issue.

On page 364, paragraph 2, the last sentence should read: Other missionaries made the trip to Mexico City on horseback but Fray Junipero determined to travel the nearly one hundred leagues on foot.

On page 366 the third from the last sentence of the Serra article should read: They have now been completely restored or rebuilt except Nuestra Senora de Soledad.

On page 371 the third from the last paragraph should read: Immediately adjoining the Seminary grounds is the fine old family home of Victoria Dominguez de Carson. It is now occupied by one of her daughters, Mrs. Virginia Carson Caldwell.

In the final paragraph on page 371, the address of the Dominguez-Wilshire Building should be 5410 Wilshire Boulevard.

Silverado Canyon Sketches

1853-1953

By Elsie McClelland



IT IS ALWAYS SURPRISING that those who could best write a story of pioneer days fail to do so. Perhaps it is because, having shared in the development of a place, they have been too close to gain a true perspective, to realize the value of the story. Soon historical accuracy becomes impossible, for those who were familiar with every detail are no longer living and records have been lost.

This is true of the story of Silverado. To gather together as much as possible of this past history and to preserve it for the pleasure of those who may love this little canyon, has been the incentive that urged the writer to make this attempt.

Co-operation makes many things possible that would have been impossible of accomplishment without it. The early story of Silverado is yours because of the ready assistance given by Mrs. Naomi Schulz and J. E. Pleasants early pioneers of Williams Canyon; Mrs. Betty Shrewsbury and family of Los Angeles, Mr. Henry Hughes of Alhambra, Mr. Thomas Hughes of Orange, Mrs. Clara Mason Fox of El Toro, Mr. Hamilton of El Modena, Mr. Holtz of Silverado and others.

If research failed to unearth important details, if inaccuracies crept in because memories differ, still it will have been worth while if the past, like a silver nugget, remains a treasured possession, enriching the present.

* * * *

CHAPTER I

EARLY HISTORY

When the mighty forces of the universe, controlled by the Great Artist, were shaping this continent there was formed a little

seven-mile canyon in the Santa Ana mountains that was destined to influence many lives.

Something of the mystery of creation, the hush of unbroken silence and of brooding peace, was to remain for all time; an intangible influence felt and responded to by every dreamer who came into the canyon.

Geologists, wandering over the hills in after years studying rock formations and out-croppings of coal and silver, read some of this story; adventurous climbers discovered petrified sea shells on the highest peaks; and early settlers remember finding the fossils of a whale in a side canyon.

When Indians discovered the seven-mile canyon it was densely wooded. Live oaks and sycamores had grown into immense trees; mountain ash, buckthorn, manzanita, sumac, and shaparral crowded each other for space; pines, buffeted by the winds, crowned the high points and mountain lilacs, in blossom time, added a note of ethereal beauty.

The Spanish Americans called the canyon Canada de la Madera (the Canyon of Timber) and this name held until the early seventies.

Wayfarers occasionally disputed the right of bear, mountain lion, coyotes, deer and the smaller animals to sole possession of this favored spot, but it was 1850 before there is any record of a permanent home being established in the canyon.

Francisco Soto, an Indian, selected what was later known as the Joe Holtz ranch in the lower canyon, for his home. Knowing no law save that of possession, he failed to file on the claim and, in consequence, lost it many years later.

The first white man who chose Canada de la Madera for his home was Samuel Shrewsbury. Nor did he come directly to the canyon of timber. He filed first upon land in the shadow of Old Saddleback, on the other side of the south range. Here he established a home for his bride near his friend, J. E. Pleasants. To this mountain cabin he brought Betty Shores Shrewsbury, as dainty a little lady as the first spring blossoms that graced the woodland, but with a spirit courageous enough to face the inevitable hardships of a pioneer life.

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A few years later the world-famed Madame Modjeska fell in love with the beauty of this section of Orange county and bought the Shrewsbury place, the Pleasants ranch, a part of the Serrano acreage and some adjoining railroad land. Later she added the Harding place to her holdings.

Prior to this time Sam Shrewsbury had tried lime burning in Limestone canyon but found the material unsatisfactory. Canada de la Madera offered stone of better quality, an abundance of rock for building purposes and wood for firing. Another inducement was the wealth of wild flowers that promised a fine grade of honey from his apiary.

Following the sale of the first homestead he filed upon land in the heart of this canyon, choosing a site for his house on the south slope where the canyon widened into a fertile valley. A never-failing spring near by furnished an abundance of water and the stream in the foreground added beauty to the setting.

Here Shrewsbury built a second kiln from which lime sold readily in Los Angeles and McPherson.

The days of the popularity of stucco buildings were far in the future. Although he used rock and cement for the fireplace and the walls of the back rooms, he felt the front must be of wood, even if it must be hauled from some distance over rough roads. A living room, two bedrooms and a kitchen were included in the plans. Water was piped from the spring to the kitchen, a rare convenience in those days.

Around the new home he set out a fine orchard of fruit and nut trees and a large grape arbor adjoined the house. This arbor came to be chief attraction of the Shrewsbury place and many a guest, including Madame Modjeska, rested in its shade. Flowers that Betty and the children loved were added, and roses planted then still blossomed in 1933, although the home, long deserted, was a fragment of ruin.

The Shrewsbury's were soon feeling very comfortably at home in their strange locality. Father Shrewsbury was busy with his lime burning in the newly constructed kiln, his bees were increasingly active in their honey gatherings among the great variety of

wild flowers and demanded constant attention, and the new orchard was his pride and joy.

Mother Betty divided her attention between her home-making the care of her small sons and the flowers she loved so much.

There were few neighbors and homes were far apart but there were occasionally visitors and they were so welcome. Mutual interests formed close friendships quickly and the canyon was so beautiful it made them all happy. Mrs. Soto, though of another nationality, was a very likeable person and both she and her husband were ever ready to lend a helping hand at any time of need.

Though their homes were separated by high canyon walls loving thoughts sped swiftly between the Pleasants and Shrewsbury's, rough mountain roads and tumbling streams could be negotiated in the big wagons and the old friends spent many glad hours together.

Lewis Shrewsbury, the second son, seems to have inherited the pioneer spirit. Having reached the age of investigation and tooth cutting, he one day made a discovery all his own.

A drawer had been left open. On tiptoe he found he could reach in and one chubby hand went on an exploring tour while the other helped him keep his balance. When Mother Betty, realizing that her baby was entirely too quiet, came to see what he was about, she found him sitting placidly on the floor surrounded by unusual toys. Saying things, in the way of wives, about husbands who failed to put their things way, she was taking everything away from young Lewis when tearful baby eyes and a quivering lower lip softened her heart. She gave him back one of father's shells to play with.

Fortunately father appeared soon and discovered his son munching contentedly on a dynamite cap. In later years Lewis claimed all the babies in those days cut their teeth on dynamite caps; at any rate he lived to tell the story.

Walter, the older boy, found plenty of excitement hunting for bear tracks but when he discovered one 18 inches long the desire to follow gave way to a more compelling need to return home with all possible speed. He also discovered the cougar tree where a wild cat was pleased to crouch on a big limb that stretched across the

Silverado Canyon Sketches

road. Watchful waiting was invariably rewarded by the passing below of some desired animal. A swift lurch, a short struggle and the cougar had his dinner ready.

One of the stories that Mr. Pleasants told that the children always clamored to have repeated again and again, was of his first trip into these canyons. He came with some other boys and his teacher for a three weeks camp. They were only well started when the boys got hungry. To satisfy their desire they stopped at a ranch and bought a sheep so they would have plenty of meat.

The first night they made camp just south of what was later known as the Irvine dam. After they had eaten and butchered their sheep no one wanted to go to bed. The boys voted to go deer hunting. They had great luck and came proudly back with two deer.

The scent of fresh meat traveled far on the night air and a grizzly came prowling around for his share. He left footprints of a size that startled the boys next morning.

Jim Pleasant's father was a famous hunter and trapper at their home in Sacramento and Jim had learned the ways of bear. Without due ceremony he was chosen to act as guide and the whole party set out to track old bruin. His tracks led into a narrow canyon and the boys decided to let him have his side and they took the other, keeping a sharp lookout.

In the most unexpected place they spied him and two shots sped across the intervening space. The old bear felt their sting and crashed through the bushes to a safer spot. Again the rifles spoke and down went the big beast, adding another ton of meat to their well stocked larder.

A third deer met the same fate and then trouble began for the oversuccessful hunters. They had too much meat, and it was too valuable to let spoil. Pleasants knew a Chinaman who would give them \$5.00 for the gall bladder alone of the bear. From it he extracted a very much desired dye.

There was nothing for it but to return to Los Angeles with their trophies and give up the rest of the three weeks' anticipated fun.

Another bear that figured in the early history of the Canyon

de la Madera was Old Clubfoot. He was curious about the actions of these new people who had moved in and paid them a not too friendly call before long. His interest in the people was less than his puzzlement over the actions of so many bees. Tracing them to their favorite spot he smelled honey. There seemed to be an abundance of it and he tasted it freely. It got better and better and he had soon consumed more than a regiment would have used on hot cakes. Overturning hives he sucked honey comb dry.

Not to be partial to the Shrewsbury brand he visited the next time the apiary of their new neighbors, the Sallee family.

That was a little too much. The men swore vengeance. They determined on his capture. Two men watched in a tree near the apiary all night after this latest raid but Clubfoot had all he wanted for the present. Then a trap was devised that would shoot off a gun if the culprit came within range. Old Ring and the other dogs were shut up in the honey house for safe keeping.

Next morning it was found that Ring had escaped. Old Clubfoot's tracks were followed and in the path he had taken lay Ring, dead, killed by the bullet intended for the bear. The bear tracks led over the ridge and were lost.

Troubles never come singly and Sam Shrewsbury had another experience of that soon after. He believed in providing good food and drink for fattening hogs but he overdid the matter.

It had been hot and the old sows were nosing around for something refreshing when they came upon the kegs of honey vinegar.

With grunts of satisfaction they devoured the contents, then their spirits rose to an alarming extent. They became as frolicsome as young colts, as frisky as lambs and as hilarious as the boys on Saturday night.

Sam did not understand the transformation until he discovered the empty kegs.

J. E. Pleasants had trouble of another caliber. His undesirable visitors were flocks of vultures. He got busy with his gun and brought down so many that he did not know what to do with them. Then he had a bright idea. He had been using twig brushes to brush the bees from the comb. Why not try vulture feathers instead of the twigs. They worked wonderfully.

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The quiet of the woods was broken in upon rudely in the seventies with the discovery of silver by Hank Smith and William Curry of Santa Ana. They picked up a bit of ore in the canyon of timber that excited their interest. It proved to be blue and white quartz showing silver that tested \$60.00 a ton. Immediately they staked a claim and called it the Southern Belle.

As they were business men in Santa Ana, their mining activities had to be a side issue. Word of their find leaked out, however. Los Angeles newspapers found it good story material. The readers readily caught the fever. Within a week's time between 250 and 300 men were seeking Canada de la Madera. Lumber wagons, spring wagons, new buggies all headed for the new silver mine. Rocky roads and mountain streams deterred no one. Horse-back riders joined the cavalcade and those who could not ride, walked, in a mad rush to be first on the grounds.

The next five years were filled with excitement in the canyon. Even the name was changed to meet the need of the times. The first blacksmith shop was followed by another; the first store by two more. Three hotels housed the overflow from hastily constructed shacks and tents. Seven saloons attempted to quench the thirst of weary, unkempt miners who sought surcease from the day's disappointing toil, and courage and renewed hope to drive them on to ultimate success. Silver gleamed here and there alluringly but not in paying quantities.

Miners were not the only ones that caught the fever. P. A. Clark of Anaheim, interested in Real Estate, saw opportunity beckoning. He opened a townsite at the fork of Pine (New York Canyon) and the main canyon a mile and a half east of the Shrewsbury place. Here he did a thriving business. Lumber hauled from a distance sold from the wagons that hauled it in. Lots sold for \$75.00 each.

Well pleased with his subdividing, Clark decided upon another move. He wrote to Washington so convincingly that he was authorized to open the postoffice under the name of Silverado and to act as first postmaster. Just why the name was changed from Madera to Silverado is apparently lost history.

The name Silverado had been popular in Napa county, Cali-

fornia for many years in association with Calistoga mining history in that vicinity. The Silverado and Calistoga mines on Mount St. Helena reached their peak of development in the early seventies. In 1880 and '81 Robert Louis Stevenson added to the fame of that section by writing *Silverado Squatters*. In this story he depicted the deserted ruins of that day but recalls vividly the activity there five years before. So rapidly does the tide of fortune in a mining town swirl and eddy and ebb away. Why another mining camp should carry the name Silverado when the years of its development so closely followed the Silverado rush in Napa county is hard to explain.

One story, unverified, states that miners from New York, seeking the mines of Napa county, became confused as to the locality and thought they had found those mines here. Discovering their mistake, they called this the "False Silverado." The name clung even after the error was proven. Another is that a Mexican, Alverado, found the old Madera mine and it was named Silverado in his honor. Soon the old canyon name, Canada de la Madera, was submerged in the new, and Silverado it remained.

With the continual influx of potential millionaires there rose the need for more adequate means of transportation. Two stages were run daily to Los Angeles, a distance of fifty-four miles, and three to Santa Ana, a four-hour trip of eighteen miles. Both were long rough rides for passengers but seats were at a premium and the carrying of the mail a side issue of secondary importance.

Silverado canyon was then a part of Los Angeles county. The Board of Supervisors, aware of the needs in such a rapidly growing community, established Silverado as a township. Samuel Shrewsbury was elected Justice of the Peace, a tribute most fitting, and another pioneer, Isaac Harding, constable.

Among the prospectors in the year of '76 there came one day a plodding team of oxen drawing a careening covered wagon almost ready to fall to pieces. The driver and his family had crossed the plains. Arriving at last in the land of Heart's Desire, they found themselves confronted by a busy host of strangers in Los Angeles. Not a familiar face lighted up with a word of greeting for them. No door stood hospitably open. After the untold hardship of the

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seemingly endless journey they had reached California, but they had no place to go.

Then the chance story of a loiterer or a scrap of old newspaper sent them on to Silverado. Over rough roads again bumped the creaking wagon, striking a stump here and a rock there, miring down in deep ruts, fording swollen streams. At last the worn lines were drawn taut, and Buck and his mate heard the welcome command, "Whoa!" They stopped under the shade of one of the largest liveoaks in the canyon with a spread of 80-foot shade. Buck found it such a haven of rest that he lay down in his yoke to rise no more. Henceforth the big tree was called "Buck's tree." It came to be a landmark on the homestead owned later by the Mason family, popular pioneers of early days. Although Buck settled so speedily in the canyon, the family he brought in must have drifted on with other restless fortune seekers, for there is no further record of them.

* * * *

CHAPTER II

DISCOVERY OF COAL

In the midst of all the exciting development in the upper Silverado canyon a Mexican, Ramon Mesquida, made another find on the north range in the lower canyon. Coal was a much needed fuel in those days and its discovery was heralded with enthusiasm. The Black Star mine had been developed and now the Santa Clara Coal Mining Company was organized, with Harry Cassidy as superintendent. Associated with Cassidy were William Curry, W. O. Crewell, William Newkirk and J. G. Kimball.

Work in this new industry led to the building of more speedily erected homes, stores, hotels and saloons. Thomas Harris of Santa Ana made application to Washington for a second post office in the canyon to be known as Harrisburg. The name "Harrisburg" was already identified with a post office in California. A second choice the office was designated "Carbondale." Mr. Harris was appointed postmaster.

Smith and Curry opened up a second mine, the Santa Clara, and hired F. S. Luce to work it.

The coal sold readily at the mine for \$3.50 a ton in those days and later for \$7.00. Hauled by six-horse teams to Los Angeles, the black diamonds brought \$7.50 a ton in the early days. Unfortunately for the Santa Clara Mining Company, the news of the find traveled too swiftly and too far even in those days of restricted methods of communication.

The Southern Pacific officials began to take notice. They were shipping coal in, and coal here meant a saving to be considered. Surveys proved the land on which the Santa Clara was operating to be railroad land. They established their claim and the coal output, hauling the product to the railway terminal in Santa Ana.

Thomas Doblin was the store keeper and postmaster at Carbondale at this time, 1882. Ed Barber of Orange ran the stage and later J. P. Thompson took over this job.

J. D. Dunlap, a deputy United States marshal, had been sent by the Government in 1874 to arrest a Mexican who was believed to be hiding in these mountains. The supposed murderer of a man in El Paso, Texas, however, was never apprehended in these mountains.

Mr. Dunlap did discover a mine that had been worked by the Indians and Mexicans from 1850 to about 1868 and was known to them as the La Madera mine. They had picked the ore down to the main canyon, where they ran it through their crude Mexican smelters for the silver that the ore contained.

He found that the mine had never been located according to the United States mining laws. He proceeded to so locate it, calling it the Blue Light mine. Today it is known on the records of the Patent Office in Washington as the Blue Light Mining Group.

When Dunlap first started work on the Blue Light mine they packed the ore down from the mine by pack mules and stored it near the old Shrewsbury house with the intention of later building a mill near the place of the location of the lime kiln.

Dunlap put men to work and opened up some very rich Galena ore. This gave impetus to the mining boom.

About this time a man was sent from New York to examine

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the property from a mining engineer's viewpoint. He made Mr. Dunlap a very handsome offer for his mine, which he refused.

This company, known as the New York Mining Company, proceeded to locate all the vacant property in Pine Canyon. They put a large force of men to work driving tunnels and sinking shafts, spending a very large sum of money on this development.

The whole mountain range was soon covered with prospectors; five hundred locations were staked and the Santa Rosa Mining District organized.

Money was furnished by Mr. John McArthur to build a mill at the foot of Pine Canyon. Harry and Tom Hughes doing the work and running the same successfully until the rich ore played out.

According to Harry Hughes, the Blue Light mine was the only mine in Silverado that could be called a mine. The others were just prospects. It was the outstanding find in value. It was taken over and worked at different times by at least five different companies.

The largest and richest company and the one that spent the most money was the Western Zinc Company of San Francisco. This company was composed entirely of Frenchmen. They spent at least \$250,000.00. Each and every company put in a different quartz mill which was eventually dismantled.

During all the time that these various companies worked the Blue Light, Thomas and Henry (Harry) Hughes had charge of the mining and milling operations. They mined and milled and shipped several carloads of very rich ore to the Selby Smelter in San Francisco. Some small shipments were made to the Swansea Smelter in Wales, England. These were ore shipments for test samples to determine the best process for extracting and separating the different minerals which the ore contained.

The Hughes brothers also built the three-rail tramway which runs up the hill for sixteen hundred feet above the quartz mill, during the time when the Western Zinc Company was operating. Henry Hughes had the distinction of running the first carload of ore down the tram. The mill at that time was lower down the canyon and the ore was hauled from the tramway by mule team to the mill.

Later, according to Harry Hughes, a party from Long Beach came in and rebuilt the mill and made a complete failure of it. Last was the Chapmans who put in the mill which now stands at the foot of the tramway in Pine Canyon.

An official report of these mining activities was obtained from the State Library in Sacramento covering operations from 1874 to 1880 and are historically correct. They were compiled from excerpts from Thompson and West, *History of Los Angeles County*, 1880.

HENRY S. KNAPP MAKES REPORT: (1878)

Silverado, 1878,—Henry S. Knapp, assayer and general manager of the New York Mining Company, has made an official report of the mining activities in Silverado. Mr. Knapp states that the most important deposit of silver-bearing ore known to exist in Los Angeles county is that of the Silverado mines in the Santa Rosa Mining District, Santa Ana and San Juan Townships.

Mr. Knapp gives the credit for the first discovery of silver ore to Henry Cassidy, who located the "Gray-back" lode. He says this vein is distinctly traceable for about three miles.

From this lode some two hundred tons of ore have been shipped to San Francisco with a net profit of about one hundred and forty dollars per ton.

Knapp reports that the mining district was organized last winter but little was done until this summer. This summer, however, some four hundred or five hundred prospectors are on the grounds and about five hundred claims have been located.

Knapp tells also in his report of activities of J. W. Clark of Anaheim and his purchase of a tract of land in Madera Canyon and the laying out of a town. Lots are now selling as high as \$75.00 each although almost all the dwellings are canvas tents. The "bloated aristocracy" are occupying board shanties.

Three of the principal claims have finally consolidated to form the Blue Light Mining Company. W. T. Lambie is president. This company is employing eight or ten men and are shipping some ore. These two companies are still contending in court over their claims and work is more or less held up until it is all settled.

HENRY S. KNAPP MAKES YEARLY REPORT, 1879

Silverado, June 1879,—We quote from a recent official report made by Henry S. Knapp in which he states that the Santa Rosa Mining and Milling Company of New York has incorporated and purchased claims

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upon the "Gray-back" and other lodes. They are now in active operation. Huntington and Company and the Santiago Mining Company are also operating in this district and have discovered ore yielding rich assays.

Knapp states that the ores found here resemble somewhat the lead carbonates of Leadville, Colorado, but below the surface the lead disappears and the ore takes on the form of sulphuret of silver, the silver being found co-mingled with iron, copper, and in some instances with antimony and zinc.

Knapp speaks in his report of the development six miles south of Silverado in the Santiago. The Santiago Gold and Silver Mining Company are operating there. T. J. Boege is president of that company. The ledge upon which they are working was discovered in 1879 by T. A. Darling, one of the present incorporators.

They have found a two-foot face of ore matter, which has yielded assays running from ninety-four dollars to two hundred and fifty-four dollars a ton. Two hundred feet of tunnels have been run upon the claim.

The activities in Silverado and Carbondale continued until well into the 1880s to 1885 but the dream of wealth became more and more a myth. Gradually workers became discouraged and even the different companies lost faith in the venture.

By 1887, Carbondale was only a memory and Silverado little more. Only the home owners were left to carry on and the wild animals returned to their old haunts. Some few miners lingered for several years. Two who stayed longest were typical old-west miners, quaint and interesting and so tender hearted that in dry-seasons they divided their food with the wild animals and carried water to those that faltered from weakness until they got them up. The names of these two unselfish men are forgotten but not their acts of compassion.

Prominent men of those days were Captain McKelvie, "Old Man" Larter, Mike Doolan, saloon keeper; Tom Harris, Dave Harris, Thomes Hughes, Henry Hughes, Postmaster Cash Harvey and his wife, Mrs. Harvey, who later was appointed Postmistress of Silverado; John Williams, David Harwood, Thomas Benton Julian, Dan Justice, and Pat Riley. The last two men were of opposite character but each beloved in his way. Dan Justice came to Silverado from San Francisco to fight the age-old battle with tuberculosis. He was a well educated man and highly esteemed. His optimism was contagious, his faith in the finding of a vein of silver,

that would make them all rich, persisted in spite of discouragements that made other miners give up. Hopeful and happy always, he brightened life for everyone. Sorrow swept the camp when he was found dead one morning under an old oak just above the cook house. His death was as he would have wished it, with no one by to witness pain he could not hide. Henry Hughes and the other boys placed the body in a coffin they had fashioned as best they could from material at hand, and buried him under an oak tree which was about 300 feet up the main canyon from the cook's shack.

Pat Riley won all hearts with his ready wit, as an Irishman should. Thomas Benton Julian appreciated Pat and recounted many of his memories of him in after years. During the height of the silver boom Mr. Julian was one day walking up the canyon. Just below the Shrewsbury lime kiln he saw Pat down in the bed of the creek digging a hole in the bank.

"What are you doing there?" yelled Julian.

"Faith, an oi'm looking' for a moine. What's ivery man lookin' for?" chided Pat.

"Why don't you go up in Pine Canyon and find yourself a mine where the balance of the mines are?" counseled Julian. Pat's answer came right back.

"What in hell do I want wid a moine in Pine Canyon, way up thar in thim mountains? By Gory! I want me moine where I can get at it aisy," yelled Pat.

One of the favorite yarns often repeated was the experience of "Doubting Sam."

Around a big campfire the weary miners had gathered one night on Hallowe'en and were telling ghost stories. More and more weird yarns were repeated and nerves were a-jitter as they became more and more uncanny. Only old Sam refused to be impressed.

"Thar ain't no such thing as ghosts. Dead folks ain't waintin' to come back to hant nobody. Ye're all jist makin' up them yarns," he declared between puffs on his old pipe.

In the general laugh no one noticed two of the boys slip away toward the cook shack where Sam had his sleeping quarters.

Knocking the ashes from his pipe, Sam soon quit the crowd.

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Upstairs he stumbled into a dark bedroom. He felt around for the lamp. Didn't seem to be there and his hand touched no candle.

"Whar's me miners' cap, I reckon I can git to bed once by that light?" But not even his cap with its tiny light was forthcoming.

"Them blame women clean up a lot too good when they get a goin' " grumbled Sam. "Guess I kin get to bed once in the dark tho."

Safely in bed at last the weary miner was dozing off when the bed was slightly jostled.

"Blamed ol' earthquake!" murmured the disturbed sleeper.

Then the bed began to move slowly a little way at a time. Sam's eyes popped open and he reached again for the lamp that should be on the table. It was not there but his hand touched the window on the opposite side of the room from where it should be.

"What be ye doin' way over here?" demanded Sam. Then the bed began to move slowly in the other direction.

With a yell that contained no words, Sam leaped from the bed and made a rush for the door.

"Ghosts or no ghosts, I ain't a-sleepin' with none, I ain't!"

A peal of laughter from the campfire across the road broke in upon the stillness of the night and Sam understood.

The boys had tied ropes on each side of his bed and out the open windows so that from below they could guide the bed where they would.

* * * *

CHAPTER IV

MASON'S CHATEAU

When the Mason family acquired their claim in Silverado Canyon in 1887 Carbondale was all but deserted and in the Silverado section there was only the cabin occupied by the Woodman's, and some chimneys and roads, and two or three tumbledown fragments of shacks. The Shrewsbury's still lived on their claim across the Silverado stream and a little above the claim that the Masons

filed on. The Woodman's had a bee-ranch at old Silverado town-site and there was another apiary farther up the canyon probably still owned by the Sallee family.

The next claim below the Mason's was owned by Mr. Thomas Young, a bachelor with advanced tuberculosis, who lived but a short while, and left his claim to his nephew, Bob Young. Bob soon sold to Mr. Friend. Clara Mason bought it from Mr. Friend and lived on it for a year, but turned it over to her brother when she went to New York to school.

On the claim afterwards held by Mr. Alsbach, lower down in the canyon and on the north side of the stream, Mexicans were occupying and in the lower canyon and its branches were the Hughes brothers, Tom and Harry, The Iron brothers, John and Ben, and Mr. Julian on his bee-ranch.

Mr. Soto, first resident of Silverado, still held his claim by right of possession only, and had built an attractive adobe house with a big fireplace and festooned with the old-time Mexican favorite vine, the passion flower.

Mr. Soto could not be persuaded to file a claim on his land. He had lived there a long time and felt it was his. It was, but the early California Americans paid no heed to such claims and he lost it later on.

The Bleachers lived in that vicinity for years, and among the Mexican families who stayed a few years were the Neyes, Egeros and Cardinas group.

At that time all the canyons were wooded with fine oaks but the Mexicans were everywhere, cutting them and selling them for fire-wood. Before the Government agents were sufficiently interested to stop it, the trees were lost from all but land claimed by Americans.

In 1889 or 1890 the whole mountain area was carefully surveyed by the government, and only those really settled on their claims could retain them, the mountain district being made into a forest reserve, so that the Shrewsbury, Mason, Alsbach, Irons, and Hughes ranches were the only ones held in private ownership, in the Silverado Canyon proper. The railroads seized all the alternate

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sections they could as "lieu-lands" from below the Black Star Canyon up to the Hughes (Holtz) boundary.

There was a renewal of mining activity soon after the Mason family moved into the canyon; the Blue Light Mine, owned by Mr. Dunlap, was again operated and a claim belonging to Captain Harthorn of Orange was developed; these two being the ones in which most work was done.

Having the only house of any size in the canyon, the Masons entertained the mining experts and prospective buyers and were in the heart of the flurry. The mountains were 'gophered' everywhere with tunnels, which put end-to-end would have gone entirely through it. There was some splendid ore taken out but all of the experts agreed that the strata were so faulted that mining could not pay. Some wonderful samples of the ore were found and good-sized pieces of virgin silver from the Hatthorn mine several years later.

Frank Porter, a 'live-wire' promoter, organized a company to operate the Blue Light Mine. The mill was enlarged, new machinery installed and a ditch brought around the hill to lead water to the turbine in the mills. But the richer ore was in pockets, and being galena, was very refractory, and at that time was handled by but a few, and distant, reduction plants. So altogether, dollars were spent in Silverado mines where pennies were taken out. There were thousands of claims staked, and the old books of record, kept by one of the Mason family, were very interesting.

Los Angeles was the county seat, and this was a branch of the mine recorders office.

Clara Mason returned from New York in 1891 and began teaching in the Silverado school. The first year the children were Mexicans with the exception of Emma and Will Hughes. Miss Mason taught the next two terms beginning in 1893 and 1894. Teachers who followed her included Louise Bentley (Bredshaw), Nanine Preston (Ross), and Miss Mabel Edinger and later Mrs. Crowell.

Following the death of Samuel Shrewsbury that home was purchased by Mr. Ed Honey.

During these years a one-room school building was all that

was deemed necessary and wood and coal furnished the heat.

The big wind one Sunday night blew the school house over and rolled it like a tumble weed down into the bed of the stream. F. E. Pleasants and the boys got it out and in shape for school on Tuesday. Quite considerate of the wind to come on the week-end.

At one time the school was threatened to be closed when one family moved away. This family numbered fifteen children. Their loss meant tragedy, for school law demands a certain number of scholars must be in attendance. However the mother of the small brood was sympathetic and understanding so she sent back five of her children to live with her neighbor until the close of the school term. The mother who gave and the mother who received are not remembered by name but their deed is not forgotten.

Naomi Alsbach (Schulz) has the distinction of being the only student whose name came down through the years. She never lost interest in the Silverado school and years later was a popular member of the school board.

Sometime in these vague years one of the lady teachers was overcome by a longing to do a little exploring of her own and spent her Saturday all alone in the upper stretches of the canyon.

Packing a lunch and anticipating a wonderfully restful time, she must have answered the lure of the canyon. Taking her trusty staff for company she started off. Not even a dog trotted with her that might have given protection or knowledge of where she might be. Mountains are very deceptive and there is always a point just beyond to lead one on and up.

Evening shadows began to lengthen and the few who knew of her exploration grew uneasy and watched anxiously for her return. Night came on and there was no sign of the returning wanderer. Gradually her friends grew alarmed and decided something must be done.

A group was formed to go in search and others followed paths of their own choosing. Everyone listened attentively for a loud hal-loo to indicate that she had been found but the stillness continued uninterrupted. Back came some of the searchers to report no success. Anxiety mounted and methods were discussed to im-

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prove the search. Surely by morning she could find her way back or she could be found where canyons hid so much.

Wearily, one by one returned with hope for better success by the light of day. For days the search continued but to no avail and never in the years that have followed has any trace been found. "Lost Woman's Canyon" was so named in her honor, the memory of a puzzle that was never solved.

Meantime the Mason family were not idle. They built and rebuilt larger homes, discovered a sulphur spring and developed it and gradually attained popularity as entertainers of any who came into the canyon for days or weeks.

To advertise their place an article appeared in the *Blade*, a near-by newspaper of some reputation. It was written by their Correspondent in 1895 or '96.

George Mason was so pleased by this reference to his place that he cut out the article and incorporated it in a scrapbook he was compiling. This tattered copy was found in a Second-hand store in Long Beach long years after by a resident of Silverado and the copy as printed is repeated here.

MASON'S CHATEAU

A HEALTH RESORT

Beauties and Pleasures of Silverado Canyon

The Sulphur Springs Becoming Daily More Popular—A Pleasant Drive Through Mountain Passes—Fine Accommodations for Man and Beast—Big and Little Game for the Sportsman.

Silverado Canyon, August 24,—(Correspondent for the *Blade*) Orange County may well be proud of her pleasure resorts. San Juan by the Sea, Laguna and McFadden's Landing offer every inducement to the lovers of seaside amusements and although they are not so widely advertised as those nearer larger cities, they are equal to, and in many respects, far superior in advantages for health-giving qualities to many places frequented by sojourners in the nearby territory.

The many canyons opening upon the Santa Ana valley, offer as well, surcease from business cares, that relaxation of mind and body so necessary to perfect health. The Santiago, Trabuca and Silverado Canyons are the largest and offer at present the greatest inducements to the searcher for rest and wild romantic scenery.

Lying full length under the shade of a sycamore tree with a volume of light literature, the air neither cold nor warm, yet so exhilarating, as

only pure mountain air can be; the pleasant bubbling and splash of a running brook along the side of, and arched over which is growing the alder, birch and sycamore, through the openings, occasional glimpses of a sky of the deepest blue; nothing to do, nothing to think about, with no misgivings of duty unperformed, is about the situation of affairs that the writer may be found in at this writing, at Mason's Chateau, in Silverado canyon.

Here may be found that diversity of innocent amusement that is lacking when only bathing in the surf and an occasional boat ride may be indulged in.

Arising betimes in the morning may be seen one of the greatest panoramic displays at sunrise. With gun in hand he may be in a short hour's ride or ramble up and down the stream bag enough game to satiate his appeasing appetite (and the phrase is used advisedly) or he may while away the morning with a plunge in the sulphur baths, the health-giving properties of which are undisputed. Although at this particular place it has not been the intention of the proprietor of the Springs to provide for the accommodation of guests, yet those who have visited here have been so profuse in their praise of the country, that when others came in turn, accommodations had to be provided. Mr. George Mason and wife have accordingly, of late, done their utmost to make the stay of visitors agreeable, with the result that "Mason's " is now becoming thoroughly known as a famous health resort and pleasure haven for those who have time and opportunity to take advantage of a visit to the mountains.

One decidedly pleasing feature to commend the place to visitors to Southern California, and elsewhere, is its accessibility. It is about nineteen miles from Orange, and the road leading thereto is at present in perfect condition. Although the springs are about 2,000 feet above the sea level, the slope is so gradual as to be barely perceptible in riding over it. There is no place along the route that might be termed dangerous, and for a mountain road it is in much better traveling condition than many of the mountain resorts throughout the northern part of the State.

On account of the uniform dryness of the atmosphere, the Springs are becoming a favorite place for those suffering from throat or lung trouble, while cutaneous disorders are readily removed by frequent plunges in the hot sulphur baths, the natural aqua itself as it gushes from the rocks in the stream bed, makes a very healthful beverage when once its peculiar, but not unpleasant taste has been overcome.

The grounds in the vicinity of Mr. Mason's may be, and are at present used by campers. The springs and bath houses are near at hand, and with plenty of pure mountain water and fodder, the horses as well

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as the campers, may live and grow younger under the inspiring and sanitary properties of the locality. As the place becomes better known there is not the slightest doubt but that Mason's Springs will become one of the most popular resorts of the country. It has all the requisities that have made other places world famed, and to those who want peaceful enjoyment away from the hum-drum of every day care and business anxieties the resort must receive its share of deserved patronage. Game, large and small, is in abundance, and the short time necessary to get there, together with the reasonable rates charges for privileges, form a most important factor to many who might be stopped from visiting the places of more pretention to style with the exorbitant charges that there reign.

As near as can be learned the following comprise about all who visited the canyon this week: W. P. Hamilton and wife and daughter, Los Angeles; J. D. Fennessy and wife, Hamilton George Wilton W. O.; George F. Walker, wife and son; Mrs. Ella Rowell and son, A. W. Ames wife and son; J. Wowers and wife, C. W. Bowers and Clarence Burch, Mr. Minter, wife and two daughters; Q. R. Smith and wife, Santa Ana; Rev. William Harthorn, wife and daughters; Captain Harthorn and son, Orange; Wm. Finch, Los Angeles; and B. C. Rowell and wife.

How surprised these numerous visitors would be to see their names in this ancient list of guests!

The part the Mason family played in the story of Silverado Canyon would seem incomplete without a poem that Mrs. Margaret Mason Davis submitted as one of her favorite poems that she says she was the author of.

THE CANYON

The mountains are so fair in spring
But Oh! it makes me lonely
To think the buckwheat and the sage
Bloom for the wild birds only.

I know the golden afternoon
Shows violet shadows still,
The stately yucca blooms like snow
Against the dreaming hill.

The water murmurs soft and low
Hid in the canyon deep,
I often think at eventide
It lulls me yet to sleep.

The birds at early morning still
Their dawning music make,
It nearly breaks my heart to think
I am not there to wake.

How can they bloom and sing and flow
And all seem glad and gay
While I, who always loved them well
Must now be far away.



The Story of Hangman's Tree

By Philip J. Rasch



VERHANGING SANTIAGO CANYON ROAD, three miles above Irvine Dam, in Orange County, is a bent sycamore known locally as "Hangman's Tree." A few yards away are the graves of the men whose lynching nearly a hundred years ago was responsible for the tree's name. The several accounts of what transpired have come to us from the recollections of men like Newmark¹ and Bell,² who wrote of the events years after their occurrence; from those who obtained their information secondhand, like Pleasants,³ or from writers like Stephenson⁴ and Adams,⁵ who have utilized one or another of their predecessors as the sources for their data. Their accounts often differ remarkably. Curiosity over what actually did occur finally drove the writer to pore over the files of the old Los Angeles *Star*, preserved on microfilm in the library of the University of California at Los Angeles. It has not been possible to reconcile all of the discrepancies and there are some gaps in the tale, but at least the contemporary accounts make it possible to give the story in somewhat greater detail than has been done previously.

On October 8, 1856, Juan Flores, Francisco Abarra, Jose B. Samaramo, Ramon Miramontes and Juan Gonzales disarmed a guard at San Quentin prison and made their escape. Fleeing southward, Flores joined a number of other desperadoes, including Andres Fontes, Jose Jesus Espinosa, Antonio Maria Vareles (alias Chino), Juan Catabo (alias Silvas, alias Sauripo), Jose Santos, Santiago Silvas, Luciano Tapia (alias Leonardo Lopez), Francisco Ardillero, Guerra Galiado (alias Piquinini) and Pancho Daniel, the latter allegedly the captain of the group. According to the sensational account given by Bell, Fontes nursed a virulent hatred of Sheriff James R. Barton, of Los Angeles, who he claimed had "framed" him and sent him to prison after he had interfered while Barton

was beating his Indian mistress. The gang established a hide out in the hills in back of San Juan Capistrano and are said to have become known as *Los Manilas*, a word which does not seem to have a satisfactory translation and which does not appear in the columns of the *Star*.

About the middle of January, 1857, Garnet Hardy took a load of goods to San Juan. He was warned that there were dangerous thieves in the vicinity and that if he attempted to return to Los Angeles he would most probably be killed and his four fine horses stolen. Hardy sent a Mexican boy to Los Angeles with a note for his brother, Alfred Hardy. As Orange County was then part of Los Angeles County, Hardy went to Sheriff Barton for aid. The sheriff immediately raised a posse, consisting of Constable William H. Little, Constable Charles K. Baker, Frank H. Alexander and Charles F. Daly. Accompanied by Hardy, they set out for San Juan on January 21. Apparently somewhere along the route they picked up a Frenchman, who acted as a guide.

Even as they rode south, the bandits, said to have been led by Flores, made a raid on San Juan. Riding into the village about sunset, they robbed the stores of Miguel Krasazki, Henry Charles, George Pflugardt and Manuel Garcia, murdered Pflugardt in cold blood, and ran off the villagers' horses. The posse had breakfast at the home of Don Jose Sepulveda, in what is now southwest Santa Ana, on the morning of the 23rd. A persistent but unverifiable tradition has it that an Indian woman named Martina, said to be Flores' sweetheart, tampered with the posse's guns while they were eating. Don Jose advised his guests of what had occurred and warned that the bandits would kill them all if pursued. Undaunted, the posse resumed their journey to San Juan.

At the edge of the foothills southwest of present day Irvine, they encountered their quarry. In the brief engagement that followed Barton, Baker, Little, and Daly were killed, allegedly by Daniel, Flores and Silva respectively.⁶ Hardy and Alexander succeeded in making their escape. Later Espinosa estimated that perhaps \$120 in all was obtained from the raid on San Juan and the pockets of the dead possemen.⁷ Fontes fled to Baja California, where



—Security-First National Bank of Los Angeles Collection

HANGMAN'S TREE

*Two unidentified outlaws pay the supreme penalty at Hangman's Tree
as members of the Vigilantes Committee
stand by.*

The Story of Hangman's Tree

he is said to have been killed by Solomon Pico, who, in turn, was himself executed by Governor Esparza in 1860.⁸

On the morning of the 24th Don Bonifacio Lopez of San Juan, obtained a horse and rode post haste for San Diego to report that the village had been raided and the bandits were still in the neighborhood. A warrant was issued by Judge Benjamin Hayes. Sheriff Joseph Reiner raised a posse, including a dozen dragoons under Sergeant Elijah R. Brown. Acting in conjunction with a company of dragoons under Lieutenant Mercer and a group of Indian warriors under Chief Manuelito, the area around San Luis Rey was scoured. Four Mexicans were taken into custody when they were unable to give a satisfactory account of themselves.^{9, 10}

News of the murder of Sheriff Barton and his party threw the citizens of Los Angeles into a panic. Newmark later recalled that the women and children were brought to Armory Hall on Spring Street near Second for safety. A Committee of Safety, with Dr. John S. Griffin in command was placed in charge of defense. Two military companies were organized. The city was surrounded and Marshal W. C. Getman conducted a house-to-house search, arresting about 40 men in the process. Troops were sent out from Fort Tejon. A strong posse headed for San Juan. They proved unable to come up with the murderers, but suffered a fatality when a man named Buckner accidentally shot himself.

On the 26th Andreas Pico led a posse of Los Angeles and El Monte residents to the scene of the crime. The bandits were trailed up Aliso Canyon and on to a ridge between Santiago Canyon and Harding Canyon. Here they were trapped at the edge of a precipice. Shots were exchanged between the two parties. Posseman Francis Goddard was wounded and Jose Antonio Serrano broke his leg in a fall. Upon the promise that his life would be spared if he would identify the murderers, Chino, a sixteen year old boy, went over to the posse. With him came Antonio Vareles. These prisoners were sent to the ranch of Don Theodocio Yorba, at what is now Olive. The rest of the bandits slipped through the brush and made their escape.

Flores, however, was soon captured in Harding Canyon. Espinosa and Lopez were the next to fall into the hands of the

posse. All three were sent to Olive to join their fellows. Pico next seized Juan Silvas and Francisco Ardillero, and set out for Olive with them. At the mouth of Limestone Canyon he received word that Flores, Espinosa and Lopez had escaped. Thoroughly exasperated, Pico remarked, "Here are two who will never get loose," and promptly hanged his prisoners from the first suitable tree.¹¹ The following year some *vaqueros* buried the bodies in a shallow grave.

Meanwhile Cyrus Sanford had been attacked near San Gabriel Mission by Miguel Soto, Diego Navarro, Juan Valenzuela and Pedro Lopez. Messrs. Houston, King and Ward, from El Monte, came to his aid. Soto was killed. The other men fled but were soon captured, tried and shot. It was believed at the time that they were part of the gang who had killed Barton, but this seems to have been a mistake.

On February 2, Espinosa and Santos were captured by a group of citizens led by Thomas D. Mott after a gun battle in the streets of Ventura. Espinosa made a full confession, naming the members of the gang, and was then lynched. Santos escaped, but was recaptured and lynched on the following day. Full of righteousness after the Espinosa execution, the citizens marched to Santa Barbara and lynched Encarnacio Berryessa, who had committed a murder in Santa Clara county.

Pico had pursued Flores through Los Nietos to Los Angeles. A party under the command of James Thompson relentlessly followed him through the Cahuenga Hills. The hunted man was pushed ever northward. Exhausted and unarmed, he finally surrendered without resistance when two soldiers from Fort Tejon ambushed him in Simi Pass while he searched for water, and was brought to Los Angeles. About 2:00 P.M. on February 14 the citizens staged a formal parade to the jail. Newmark stated that on such occasions Judge Jonathan R. Scott would call for a vote. The citizens would vote for a hanging and the prisoner would be taken to a scaffold on Fort Hill. According to Stephenson, Al Hardy carefully fitted Little's rope about the doomed man's neck. Given the opportunity to make a statement, Flores said that he was ready to die, that he had committed many crimes, that he died without ill will against any man and hoped that no one would bear ill will

The Story of Hangman's Tree

against him. When the plank was pulled from under him the drop proved too short. As his body jerked in the air the bonds about his arms slipped up above his elbows. The dying man reached up and grasped the rope from which he was suspended, and considerable effort was required to force him to release his hold. With him was dispatched Miguel Blanco, another murderer.¹²

Next to have justice meted out to him was Luciano Tapia. He was arraigned in the District Court on December 19, 1857, charged with the murder of Pflugardt, found guilty, and hanged on February 20, 1858. Thomas King, also a convicted murderer, was executed at the same time.¹³

The hunt for Pancho Daniel continued unabated. Marshal Soublette had a shot at him in October, 1857, but only succeeded in breaking his right arm. Daniel was finally arrested at San Jose by Sheriff Murphy on January 19, 1858. He escaped and fled toward Willows, but was recaptured while hiding in a haystack.¹⁴ It is said that when captured he was still wearing a silver-mounted belt which he had taken from Barton's body. Daniel's defense attorneys proved thoroughly capable. After a long series of delaying actions and legal maneuvers, they obtained a change of venue to Santa Barbara County. This was too much for the indignant Angelinos. In the early morning of Tuesday, November 30, 1858, the conventional group of "unidentified citizens" visited the jail. When they left Daniel's body was discovered hanging from the cross beam of the gate of the county jail yard.¹⁵

In all, some fifty-two culprits are said to have been brought to Los Angeles and jailed, eleven of this total being either lynched or legally hanged. Perhaps this was one reason that the pueblo's four Protestant ministers found the town too sinful to be redeemed, packed up their bags and departed.¹⁶

* * * *

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The writer is indebted to Miss Clara E. Breed, San Diego City Librarian; Miss Verna Ramsey, Reference Librarian, Santa Ana Public Library, and Miss Margaret Cressaty, Librarian, College of Osteopathic Physicians and Surgeons, for their assistance in obtaining the material used in this paper.

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

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—Andrew F. Rolfe Collection

WILLIAM HEATH DAVIS



—From the Author's Collection

MRS. EVA S. FENYES

3

John C. Bennett



Charles Gould

Collected Nov. 14th 1857

Ein

6000

Edw. Morris
Atty & Counselor
59 William St.

Wm. Y. Brown

59 William St

rain in full force and virtue.

Sealed and delivered in the presence of

Handwritten signature: *Handwritten signature*

H. Hunt

[illegible]

18th dimension nearly

If you can someone give a letter of reference
Mignon B. Smith. I wish your words and words then
to me. I am a letter of opportunity — I will know
that if I would send me a letter about
B. Smith for it over. I will send him some
checked letter to

Grove, Mass. Br. & City. 1845


100

BOND ISSUED BY JOHN C. FREMONT

LETTER OF JOHN A. SUTTER

A Researcher's Bonanza

By Dudley Gordon

 IN RESEARCH, AS IN HARDROCK MINING, there is a lot of "digging." Both fields require much exploring, searching, spade-work, examining and sifting. Thus, it is apparent that the pursuit of knowledge and the pursuit of gold have much in common. And who is to say, that he who is successful in the first contributes less to society than his counterpart in the second?

That the monotonous digging among books and manuscripts is fascinating to scholars is difficult for a bystander to comprehend. To him the rewards apparent seem hardly worth the time and effort expended. And yet, a researcher, too, may sometimes "strike it rich." Occasionally, he may turn up a bit of original, unrecorded knowledge. To him, "pay dirt" adds to the enlightenment of man. His richest reward is to help make clearer the mosaic we call History.

Researchers find considerable satisfaction in staking a claim in a promising area of knowledge, digging down to bedrock among the facts, screening the findings and making a shipment to an editor for his assay. That is their run-of-the-mill experience. But—once in a rare while—they may uncover a "nugget." Then they become subject to an excitement akin to gold fever.

A case in point is that of a researcher in the noted library of the Southwest Museum. One day he was busy in pursuit of a topic in California History. While examining the rare manuscript and historical treasures of the library, his attention was called to an unusually plump volume. Reaching for the book, he soon discovered the reason for its plumpness. Between the pages were more than four score original letters in Spanish and English dating from 1840 to 1903. In addition, there were bills of lading, memos, orders and assorted documents. Most of these items were addressed to Davis.

A quick perusal convinced the scholar that he held in his hands a large number of association items which shed new light upon the life and trading practices in California during the middle decades of the 19th Century. Each item was inserted in the volume at the place where the addressor was mentioned in the text . . . This was more than a nugget. It was a veritable bonanza. In his excitement, the researcher imagined that History was looking over his shoulder.

Breathlessly, he turned to the title page and read:

SIXTY YEARS IN CALIFORNIA

WILLIAM HEATH DAVIS*

A History Of Events and Life In California

Personal, Political and Military

Being a Compilation by a Witness of the Events Described

Published in San Francisco by A. J. Leary, 1889.

Avid reading revealed the volume to be a valuable source book on California during the exciting period before, during, and after annexation. It treats at length on the missions and how they were run, the local industries, outstanding events, and the principals who brought them about. It reports on cattle ranching, sheep herding, horse breeding, hides, smuggling, trading with incoming ships, raising oranges, making wines, whaling, salmon catching and otter hunting. It describes rodeos, customs of the rancheros, lassoing bears, gambling, courtship and marriage customs, and fiestas. The author also writes at length on the Russians, Fort Sutter, the American Occupation at Monterey, Yerba Buena becomes San Francisco, discovery of gold and its effect on San Francisco, residents of the San Francisco Bay area with whom the author did business, the Battle of San Pasqual, and of his unsuccessful attempt to buy and develop the area we now know as Oakland.

In addition, Davis adequately reports on the parts played by such history makers as Sutter, Larkin, Sam Brannan, General Vallejo, Frémont, Stockton, Pico, Alvarado, Micheltorena, Colonel Stevenson and the New York Volunteers, Kearney, the Mormon Battalion, Beale and a host of others. The roll of Spanish names includes most of the foremost figures in the area from Sacramento

**An American in California, Biography of William Heath Davis* by Andrew F. Rolle, was reviewed in the September, 1956, QUARTERLY.

A Researcher's Bonanza

to San Diego during six momentous decades . . . What a book for the historian, writer or reader of Californiana.

Further digging revealed that William Heath Davis was born in Honolulu in 1822. At the age of 16 he came to California and became a clerk for his uncle, Nathan Spear, in his store at Yerba Buena. Thereafter much of his time was spent in trading by boat around San Francisco Bay. In 1839 he commanded the "fleet" that took John Augustus Sutter and his company up the Sacramento River to establish New Helvetia. In '46 he began a prosperous career as a San Francisco merchant in his own name. Later he married a daughter of Joaquin Estudillo, and in the Fall of '48 he had an interest in the first gold to be shipped from Sutter's Mill to the mint in Philadelphia. He also built the first brick building in San Francisco. Davis Street was named in his honor. Failing in his attempt to purchase and develop the area now known as Oakland he transferred his attentions to San Diego where he built the first pier. It didn't last long. American soldiers used it for firewood.

During his active business career covering the period from '39 to '89 Davis knew and had dealings with Sutter, Pico, William A. Richardson, Larkin, Frémont, Mellus & Howard Company, Juan Bandini, J. Alex. Forbes, W. A. Leidesdorff, James McKinley and many Estudillos, Aguirres, Arguellos, Vallejos, Carrillos, Bejars, Ortegas and others. Record of these dealings is found in the text of the volume and supported by numerous association items inserted within it.

A search in Bancroft's History of California revealed that the great historian had the following to say of the author of *Sixty Years In California* "All records show Davis as honest, genial, industrious and a successful business man. He accumulated a handsome fortune. He had no enemies."

Upon detailed examination of the documents inserted within the pages of the book, the researcher realized that he had unearthed a nest of nuggets, a Comstock Lode of ninety autographed documents. Each of these handwritten relics contributed insight concerning those galvanic decades of transition when California ceased as a separate political unit and became a part of the United States.

A choice nugget of the collection is a silver fish-damaged letter

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in the handwriting of Empire Builder John Augustus Sutter. It was written only a few months after he built his fort on the site which was soon to become the world famous goal for thousands of adventurers who responded to the irresistible pull of that most magical magnet—G-O-L-D.

The letter reads as follows:

February 22, 1840

Nueva Helvetia del Rio Sacramento,

Mr. William Davies,

Dear Sir: If you have any gold Ear Rings left I wish you would send me three or four pair if they are not to high priced—Please let me know what time Capt. Cooper sailed for the Islands, whether there are any arrivals lately or any news whatever will be interesting up here.

The Kanaka which I thought was lost has been sick at San Pablo.

Mr. Sinclairs sends his best respects to you.

If you can procure me a few of those common mission Blankets I wish you would and send them to me first opportunity. Tell Manuel that if he will send me a few sweat cloths for Horses I will send him some smoked Deer Skins.

Yours respectfully,

J. A. SUTTER.

Apparently Mr. Sutter needed ear rings to help him win friends among the Indians by influencing chiefs.

The sick Kanaka was one of a devoted group of native Hawaiians Sutter had brought with him from the islands.

Could it be that the discovery of the precious metal at Sutter's Mill in 1848 was not the earliest in California is indicated by the order of "three or four pair—gold Ear Rings"? Quite possibly the metal came from the mines near Los Angeles which produced small quantities of gold a decade before Sutter arrived in California, but not in amounts to set off a mining furor.

A second interesting and enlightening document was a bond dated January 1st, 1857, and drawn against General Frémont for \$6,000.00. It read:

Know All Men By These Presents, that I John Charles Fremont of Mariposas, State of California, am held and firmly bound unto Charles Gould of the City of New York . . . in the sum of twelve thousand dollars, lawful money of the U.S. of America, to be paid to the said Charles Gould his . . . executors, administrators, or assigns; for which payment

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well and truly to be made I bind myself, my heirs, executors and administrators firmly to these presents. Sealed with my seal. Dated the first day of January 1857.

The condition of the above obligation is such, that if the above bounden John Charles Fremont, his heirs, executors or administrators, shall well and truly pay, or cause to be paid, unto the above named Charles Gould, his executors, administrators, or assigns, the just and full sum of six thousand dollars in one year from date hereof with interest thereon at and after the rate of seven per cent per annum, for and in consideration of the sum of one dollar—to me in hand paid by John T. Howard—the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged, I hereby sell and assign unto the said John T. Howard—his executors, administrators or assigns the within bond, and I hereby certify that said Bond is for part of the sum of seventy eight thousand dollars, the payment whereof is secured by a mortgage of the Mariposas Estate made by the said John C. Fremont to me, and bearing even date with said Bond, and that said mortgage has been sent to California to be recorded, and thereby assign, transfer and set over to the said John T. Howard—an interest in said mortgage to the amount of said Bond without recourse to me in any event or for any purpose.

Witness my hand and seal this 4th day of Aug. 1857.

Charles Gould.

For and in consideration of the sum of one dollar to me in hand paid by John Charles Fremont—the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged, I hereby assign, transfer and return to the said John Charles Fremont—the within Bond together with an interest in the above mentioned mortgage to the amount of said Bond without recourse to me in any event or for any purpose.

Witness my hand and seal at the City of New York this 26th day of February 1861.

Jno. T. Howard.

John T. Howard

It was known to historians that the Great Pathfinder had had financial difficulties. The above bond sheds light on his predicament. It would be interesting to learn how he induced his creditors to accept a bond of \$6,000.00 in lieu of the \$12,000.00 he was “held and firmly bound to pay in lawful money of the U.S. of America.”

Many of the letters were of a minor business nature but each of them contributes to a better understanding of life in California a century ago. For instance, H. J. Hinckley wrote “Your hides are available at Saucilito and a launch for your disposition will be

ready on Monday." (No date—no place). In 1846 J. Alex. Forbes wrote from Yerba Buena . . . "I beg you to inform Mr. Morey of the Company of Mormons and I shall be here in a few days and that I shall settle with him and his partners for the pipes they are making for me." In the same year W. A. Leidesdorff wrote from San Francisco "Please deliver four gallons of Sperm Oil and charge the same to the account of W. A. L." In '47 C. W. Flugge wrote, "I received a letter from Dr. N. A. Den. He will deliver to my order the amount of a promissory note in favor of Thomas A. Larkin for \$563.00 plus interest at 12½% per month. Receive same and place the amount to my account." In that year William A. Richardson wrote from Sausalito, "I shall be over on Saturday morning at daylight to sign the manifest unless you come over here with the brig tomorrow and go to sea from here on Saturday morning, which I think is best for you as the tide in the morning is very short to get out from Yerba Buena." Richardson had been Captain of the Port by General Vallejo's appointment. His business was the collection of country produce by a launch running on the bay. Sausalito was a stopping place for wood and water for ships about to go to sea.

In 1849 John Parrott the American Consul at Mazatlan wrote Davis:

I have been informed that D. Anselmo Beltran, a Mexican from the interior of this State has eloped to the gold region owing for some time \$4,014.61. I send you enclosed his account and should you be so fortunate as to find out where he is, use your exertions to collect the amount or as much as possible.

I sent on the 4th inst Henry Wood who came down with me on board the *Callao* for Durango, accompanied by a half dozen Americans to purchase and take charge of 500 mules we purpose sending by land to California. Wood is a good go-ahead sort of fellow, and I think will arrive about the 1st of Sept. (5 months). He is half interested in the speculation and I have directed him to report to you from Los Angeles, as my agent.

Dye of Monterey leaves soon also with some mules he has purchased on the coast. They are not likely to stand the journey. I trust Wood may arrive safe . . . John Parrott.

According to Bancroft—Job Francis Dye of Monterey in '48, in company with Larkin, chartered the *Mary* on which boat he

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brought a cargo of goods from Mazatlan bringing a drove of mules from Sonora by land the next year.

Among the letters were some which represented simple business transactions. For example Juan Bandini ordered a pair of *zapatos* (shoes) for \$2.4. Pio Pico wrote his nephew, Jose Maria, for a pair of mules and James McKinley of Monterey loaned Davis \$2,000 *pesos in oro* placer (gold 16 Oz. troy). Davis mentions in his book that McKinley acted as mediator between Alvarado and Micheltorena. It was his opinion that Alvarado was a schemer and that Micheltorena was a gentleman.

Insight as to the needs of the people of San Francisco and the goods available to satisfy these needs is found in the several Bills of Lading inserted within the Davis book. For example one records that the following were shipped in good order by E. and H. Grimes of Honolulu on Sept. 26, 1846 to Davis via the Brig *Euphemia*. "No freight—he being part owner of said brig and cargo." Forty boxes Arrowroot, 10 kegs nails, 2 keys tobacco, 1,500 bags Salt, 10 baskets Champagne, 6 casks coal, 4 casks brandy, 10 bars iron, 1 keg Currants, 1,000 Bricks, 2 pigs Lead, 1 bbl Pickles, 40 kegs White Lead, 56 bbls. flour, 3 doz. baskets, 33 bags Coffee, 45 bags Shot, 1 bbl. Almonds, 1,215 bags Sugar, 20 tins Crackers, 20 tubs Candy, 21 boxes Cigars, 2 boxes Ink, 4 boxes ribbon, 1 Music Box, 4 bbls. Pitch, 16 Try Pots, 60 bales Hoops, 25 bbls. Molasses, and assorted bbls, cases, bundles, boxes and packages.

Another B/L recorded a shipment on the *Inez* by Mellus & Howard Co., of San Francisco to Davis at Santa Barbara in June 1849, which included 3 bales Brown Cotton, 1 bale Cotton Wick, 100 lbs. Tobacco, 10 boxes Raisins, 6 boxes Black Tea, 1 bdle 6 doz. Brooms, 1 bdle 4 doz. sicles, 2 baskets Champagne, 2 cases Gin, 1 box Axes, 1 bag Walnuts, 3 crates Crockery, 1 case Curry Powder, 2½ bbls Crushed Sugar, 1 bbl. Rice, 3 bags Bread, 1 tub Sugar Candy, 1 case Lemon Syrup, 3 cases Chinaware. Freight at \$40.00 per ton (718.00) Received by Nicholas A. Den.

Other shipments included various quantities of White Manta, Cambruck, Calico, Brown Drill, Brown Manta, Cotton handkerchiefs and Black Pepper.

Senor Davis, like other businessmen, sometimes suffered from

a shortage of funds. This is apparent from a letter he wrote from San Francisco in August of 1851. In it he explains to Don Emidio Bejar of San Juan (Capistrano?) that he is land poor, but will pay his debt of 6,000 pesos soon. It will be delivered by George F. Hooper and that Bejar need not worry as Don Jose A. Aguirre of San Diego owes Davis more than 6,000. A further notation says "Don Emidio, Do not press me for payment and be assured that in San Diego alone I have \$50,000.00, not counting cattle."

Two months later Davis sent his creditor the following order: "Pay to D. Emidio Bejar \$1,700.00 in Silver." Below this notation there appears another dated 10 months later at San Juan: "Pay to Don Ramon Arguello or order" (signed) Emidio Bejar. Below this appears the following under the date of May 24, 1852 "Pay to Santiago E. Arguello" and signed Jose R. Arguello. At the bottom of the document there is the notation "S. E. Arguello received payment plus interest." (No date) Across the face of the paper is found the inscription *settled*.

Reading these interesting reflections upon life in early California created the desire to know how Davis' book and its valuable insertions came into the possession of the Southwest Museum.

Upon consulting Librarian Mrs. Ella Robinson he learned that the book and its precious nuggets were received as a gift by the museum in 1923 as part of a substantial library of Californiana. The donation was in accordance with the conditions in the will of the late Eva Scott Fenyés of Pasadena.

Mrs. Fenyés, it seems, was a delight to a museum director's heart. In addition to possessing great beauty of character and features, she was a woman of wealth, talent and social awareness. As the first Life Member of the Southwest Museum she gave it her support generously so long as she lived. Her daughter, now a trustee, and her granddaughter have continued to follow her lead.

One of her numerous significant gifts to the museum is a superb collection of more than 100 water color paintings of California adobes. These were done by her own hand and are highly prized by students of early California.

Another of her splendid gifts is a collection of more than thirty original pencil sketches of Gold Rush scenes by John W. Audubon,

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son and collaborator of the noted American Naturalist whose drawings of American birds are world famous.

An assayer's report on ores submitted usually shows the presence of several minerals or substances of worth in association. So, meditated the researcher, does his bonanza.

First, there was the esthetic pleasure derived from completing a report which would be of value to scholars and others. In addition, there was satisfaction in the knowledge that there exists a publication of the high calibre of the Historical Society of Southern California *Quarterly* which would publish and preserve his findings. There was also gratification in knowing that there are people like Mrs. Fenyés who have the interest, wealth and awareness of their responsibility to society to collect vital aspects of that society's history and to place them where they may be used by those who survive her. And, lastly, he was thankful that he lives in a community of enlightened people who support a splendid cultural asset such as the Southwest Museum.

Pico's Building

Its Genealogy and Biography

By Frank B. Putnam



THE OLDEST BANK BUILDING in Southern California and probably the oldest in the entire southwest is doomed.

The *pobladores* or settlers:

. . . who gathered about the dusty plaza in the name of the King, and under the patronage of Nuestra Señora la Reyna de los Angeles, Maria Santisima de Porciuncula . . .¹

on September 4th, 1781 had been recruited in Sinaloa and Sonora.

Luis Quintero 55, and his wife, María Petra Rubio de Quintero enlisted in their native Los Álamos, Sonora on February 3rd, 1781. They brought their five children including an adopted daughter and in addition three married daughters were in the expedition. All of the eight children were named María except a boy José Clemente and a girl Fabiána Sebastián Quintero y Rubio de Valdéz, 15, who was married to Eugenio Valdéz, 26 a soldier accompanying the expedition, also a native of Los Álamos where he enlisted.²

Another soldier was Juan José Villa, 38, a native of the Presidio de Horcasitas who brought his wife María Paula Martínez de Villa. Two children accompanied them; one was six-year-old Vicente Ferrer Villa born at Tubac in 1776.

Vicente Ferrer Villa, then a widower, was married at Misión San Gabriel Arcángel February 6th, 1808 to María Rita Valdéz, born about 1791, daughter of Eugenio Valdéz and his wife Fabiána Sebastián previously mentioned.

María Rita Valdéz de Villa was the first claimant of Rancho Rodeo de las Aguas of 4,539 acres including the site of Beverly Hills. The Villas also had a town house on Calle Principál and some time after Corporal Villa's death the widow and her 11 children (according to the Title Guarantee and Trust Company)³ or eight chil-

Pico's Building

dren of whom seven were girls (according to the Security-First National Bank)⁴ moved into the Pueblo. Her town house was on land that she received from the *ayuntamiento*; the previous owner was the King of Spain.

María Rita Valdéz de Villa died between 1854 and 1859; on June 9th, 1859 her son Mariano and his wife, María Antonio de Villa deeded a parcel of land belonging to him by inheritance from his mother to Pío Pico, described:

Bounded on the north by the Drug Store occupied by Dr. J. C. Welch, on the east by the land of Abel Stearns, on the south by the Bella Union Hotel and westerly by Main Street.

At an unknown date Manuel Ravena acquired an undivided four-sevenths interests in the parcel, Pico having the remaining three-sevenths:

. . . on the east side of Main or Principal Street, bounded on the north by the property of John G. Downey now occupied by J. C. Welch as a Drug Store, on the south by the land owned by Flashner and Winston upon which is erected the building known as the Bella Union Hotel, on the east by the stone wall built by Bachman & Co. and Abel Stearns in the rear of their property facing on Los Angeles Street, and on the west by said Main Street, having a front on Main Street of 83 feet and six inches and a depth of about 112 feet, more or less . . . formerly owned by Maria Rita Valdez de Villa.

Ravena and Pico agreed to divide the land, Pico taking:

. . . that portion . . . commencing at the Northwest corner of the Bella Union, thence northerly along Main Street 31 feet 10 inches, easterly, 112 feet more or less to a stone wall in the rear of the property of Abel Stearns and Foy & Bros.,⁵ then along the line of the said stone-wall, parallel to the first line southerly to the Bella Union thence westerly about 112 feet more or less to the place of beginning, the northerly line of which said property is intended to include one-half of the northern wall of the Barber Shop now occupied by Alejo Rendon.

Ravena's parcel extended from the center of the barber shop wall northerly 51 feet eight inches to the Downey property occupied by Welch. Ravena and Pico signed the indenture on April 23, 1861 in the presence of Myer J. Newmark, Notary Public, a cousin of Harris Newmark, father of Marco R. Newmark.

By using the barber shop wall as the dividing line, Pico got 31

feet 10 inches whereas his interest entitled him to 35 feet and 10 inches.

The next indenture, a 2-way deed, was executed June 10th, 1868. The parties of the first part, each having some interest in the Bella Union, were John King, J. B. Winston, Alice and G. H. Matfield and Ph. Sichel; I. W. Hellman signed for Sichel as Attorney-in-Fact; the Notary Public, Joel H. Turner was mayor of Los Angeles 1869-70. Pico was the party of the second part and although it appears that he did not sign the document, it was recorded at his request on November 18th, 1868.

By this deed Pico received a strip of land three feet wide and 38 feet long between his parcel and the northerly wall of the Bella Union and:

. . . also the right to use the said wall for the distance of said 38 feet as one of the walls of the contemplated building about to be erected . . . as a party wall between said contemplated building and said Bella Union Hotel forever.

In exchange for the three foot strip, Pico deeded a strip two feet wide and 74 feet long, commencing 38 feet from Main Street and extending to the east end of the parcel, which strip:

. . . shall remain open for common use by the parties hereto and their assigns forever.

On June 2nd, 1868 the *Los Angeles News* carried the following announcement:

NEW BANKING ENTERPRISE. Messrs. Wm. Workman, F. P. F. Temple and I. W. Hellman, have formed a partnership under the firm name of *Hellman & Co.*, for the purpose of opening a banking house. The gentlemen composing the firm are old citizens of the county, and well known capitalists, and under the superior business management of Mr. Hellman, the institution cannot be otherwise than successful. A new house with fire-proof iron front, two stories high is to be erected on Main Street adjoining the Bella Union Hotel, the first floor of which will be used for the bank and private offices. The building is now under contract, and will be finished in time for the bank to commence business by the first of July.

The *News* was optimistic in predicting that the bank would be able to open on July first in a building only in the contract stage on June 2nd!

Pico's Building

The *Los Angeles Star* reported on Saturday, August 8th, 1868:

THE NEW BANK. In our advertising columns, to-day, will be found the announcement of the new banking establishment of Messrs. *Hellman, Temple & Co.* The proprietors are: Mr. Workman, of the Puente, a gentleman long known in this county, one of the early pioneers, possessed of extensive estates, and large accumulated capital besides; Mr. Temple, also a well known and opulent citizen of our county; and Mr. I. W. Hellman, a young, enterprising, and intelligent merchant of this city, who will have charge of the business of the bank. Under such auspices, and with such responsibility, depositors may be assured of safety. We are satisfied that the business will be conducted in a liberal and satisfactory manner.

The advertisement stated that *Hellman, Temple & Co., Bankers*, would open their general banking business on or about September first in Pico's Building, next to Wells, Fargo & Co.'s Express; the latter occupied quarters in the Bella Union. It is probable that the building was not numbered until the first city directory was published; at that time, 1871, numbering began at the Plaza and progressed southward, Pico's Building being No. 44 for the entire building although it consisted of two units on the lower floor and an upper story. When a new system was instituted about 1883 the bank's quarters were 218 North Main, the upper floor was 220 and the other ground floor room was 222. The present system was adopted about 1890 and the numbers were raised to 318, 320 and 322 North Main Street as at present.

Wm. Workman, "Don Julian," an Englishman, came to California in 1841 with the party that included Don Benito Wilson, John Rowland, Lemuel Carpenter and others. He owned 17,967 acres of Rancho La Puente.

Francis Pliny Fisk Temple, Don Julian's son-in-law, a native of Reading, Massachusetts, came in 1841 and among his extensive holdings was Rancho La Merced of more than 2,300 acres.

Isaias W. Hellman came from Bavaria in 1859 when he was 16 years old. He was Los Angeles' first banker; in 1865 he had purchased Adolph Portugal's mercantile business and carried on a private bank in his store. In 1868 he decided upon banking for his career, sold his store to Polaski and Goodwin and formed the part-

nership with Workman and Temple. Hellman invested \$25,000 and his partners \$50,000 each.

On the opening day, September 1st, 1868 the bank had 18 accounts and total deposits of \$38,467.02 with Pío Pico's \$1,565.32 on the first page in the ledger; loans were \$62,990.50. During the first year 495 accounts were opened. The bank's growth is indicated by the following statistics:

	<i>Deposits</i>	<i>Loans</i>
December 31st, 1868	\$ 93,813.17	\$148,541.93
December 31st, 1869	116,686.05	209,465.67
December 31st, 1870	141,400.72	258,133.97

The bank granted more than 1,400 loans during its two and a half years, only eight being for \$10,000 or more. The smallest was \$21 borrowed by J. Jeantel.

An undated clipping from an unknown newspaper, discovered recently in an old scrap book reported:

NEW BANKING HOUSE—When in Los Angeles this week, we had the pleasure of being taken through the new banking house of *Hellman, Temple & Co.* The building has been erected for the accommodation of the bank and we need not add, is complete in all its external arrangements. The exterior is beautiful, presenting a specimen of architectural design, creditable to the enterprising proprietors. The vault embraces all the modern appliances to ensure safety, is massive, and substantial, while the bolts and bars connected with the locking of the door, combine intricacy with simplicity. Mr. Hellman, the managing partner, very politely explained the workings of the mechanism, and showed us the piles of the root of all evil. We were pleased to meet our friend, Major Toberman, in this establishment, he having transferred his services from the Express to the banking business. We wish the enterprise abundant success.⁶

Major James R. Toberman, mayor of Los Angeles 1873-74 and 1879-82 was an employee of *Hellman, Temple & Company* and not a partner as has sometimes been stated. A later employee, Tom E. Rowan, who continued on with the Farmers & Merchants Bank was also mayor of the city.

On February 1st, 1871 Hellman bought out his partners for \$100,000 and continued as *I. W. Hellman & Company*.

Another banking partnership had been formed earlier in 1868

Pico's Building

with Ex-Governor John Gately Downey as a partner in *James A. Hayward and Company*; later this became the *Banking House of John G. Downey*.

By 1870 the structure was known as Hellman's Bank Building. In that year Volume I, Number 1 of the *Los Angeles Real Estate Advertiser* stated that it was published for the real estate and law office of R. M. Widney in Hellman's Bank Building. The *Los Angeles Daily News* in 1871 also stated that Widney's office was in Hellman's Bank Building.⁷ Judge Robert M. Widney was the founder of the University of Southern California.

In 1873 Alexander Rendon is listed as a barber although it is not clear if he was in Pico's Building, which site he had occupied in 1861 or on the adjoining parcel which had been deeded to Ravena.

"Oysters! Fresh Oysters! On hand, a constant supply of fresh oysters, received by each steamer. Call and try them — you know the place, under the telegraph office and next door to the bank. H. Dockweiler." This advertisement was appearing in October 1870. Another ad, in February 1871: "Aleck's Shaving Saloon moved to the 'Old Stage Office' next to Hellman, Temple & Co.'s Bank." Inasmuch as the Old Stage Office was in the Bella Union it seems rather odd that it was not mentioned instead of the bank.

According to the *Los Angeles Daily News* for February 3rd, 1871: "At a meeting of the capitalists held on the evening of the first instant . . ." it was decided to organize the *Bank of Los Angeles*, a California corporation. The name finally selected and the only one in the minutes of the first formal meeting was *Farmers & Merchants Bank of Los Angeles*; in the meantime some one had zealously erected a sign *Bank of Los Angeles* on a projection extending above the building but never bothered to change it and *Bank of Los Angeles* was still faintly visible in fairly recent years.

The *Los Angeles Daily Star* for Saturday, April 8th, 1871 reported:

Juan and Jose were fined \$6 each by the Mayor, yesterday, for disturbing the peace and dignity of Negro Alley.⁸

Apparently of lesser importance, as it was farther down the same column in the *Star* was this announcement:

The *Farmers and Merchants Bank* will open for the transaction of business on Monday next, at 10 o'clock A.M.

The Daily News, April 11th, 1871, after reporting at some length that Manuel Daniels had been murdered at "... rancho de la Brea, as is alleged, by one José María Moreno ..." (the affections of Mariana were involved), promised its readers that all of the facts would be in the next day's paper and then finally got around a couple of paragraphe later to:

THE NEW BANK.—The *Farmers and Merchants Bank of Los Angeles*, with Hon. John G. Downey President, and I. W. Hellman Cashier opened yesterday. For the present, and until completion of the new quarters now erecting, the bank will occupy the old rooms of *Hellman, Temple & Co.* The Bank officers are too well known in the financial world to need introduction or endorsement.

The First National Bank of Santa Fe opened 10 days later on April 18.

What became of "... the new quarters now erecting ..."? The *Los Angeles Star* of April 12th, 1871 stated:

The outer walls of the new Bank building at the intersection of 2nd and Main Streets will be over two feet thick and the building when completed, one of the most substantial in the city.

That seems to be the last of that as the bank remained in Pico's Building for three years.

On the 16th of April the *Daily News* again took notice of the first incorporated bank in Southern California but the bank was getting still farther down the column of local news, the last three items at the bottom of the page being:

Late consignments to our Chinese mercantile houses consist of 100 mats rice, a few women (assorted) and a small lot of aulones.

NEW BANK—The new banking institution is now fully established and has already commenced business under the most favorable auspices.

Disreputable people can neither skate nor eat ice cream in Los Angeles.

The bank was less important than assorted Chinese women but did outrank disreputable people!

The bank opened with the two officers and two employees, the latter being Tom E. Rowan, a Hellman-Temple employee, and Joe



— Security-First National Bank of Los Angeles Collection

Pio Pico



— Security-First National Bank of Los Angeles Collection

GENERAL ANDRES PICO



— Security-First National Bank of Los Angeles Collection

FIREPLACE IN PICO HOUSE

*It was a cool 56 degrees at 8:00 a.m. on the morning that the
Farmers and Merchants Bank opened. It was 63 degrees
at 3:00 p.m., and 62 degrees at 6:00 p.m.*

Pico's Building

Huber, Jr. Rowan was city treasurer 1868-1870 following which he served three terms as county treasurer, was a county supervisor and was mayor 1893-1894. Huber was also both city and county treasurer.

As the first day ended, deposits were \$242,920.52; almost \$190,000 came from Hellman's bank, \$30,000 from Downey's and \$20,000 was new business. Less than a quarter of a million dollars in the only bank in Southern California! A first day customer was Mrs. Benito D. Wilson who purchased Certificate of Deposit No. 2, \$900; Don Benito's account showed a balance of \$12.84. These were the maternal grandparents of Miss Anne Wilson Patton and the late General George Smith Patton.

The bank prospered and on July 15th, 1874 moved across the street to its own new building at 52 Main Street, later changed to 241 and 341 North Main.

While the *Farmers & Merchants* was preparing to move, another bank was being organized and was incorporated May 20th, 1874 as the *Los Angeles County Bank* although at times it advertised as the *Los Angeles County Savings Bank*. According to Harris Newmark in his *Sixty Years in Southern California*:

Its first location was the room just vacated by the *Farmers & Merchants Bank* adjoining the Bella Union, the *County Bank's* step in that direction being due, no doubt, to a benevolent desire to obtain some of its predecessors business.

Jonathan Sayre Slauson was president, John M. Griffith, vice-president, and either L. Macneil or John M. Elliott was cashier. Slauson, a prominent citizen who was active in many local affairs was the founder of Azusa. Elliott had a long and distinguished career with the *First National Bank of Los Angeles* from 1881 until his death in 1929.

Late in 1871 Hellman's former partners had established "*The Bank—Temple and Workman*" in the Temple Block. It closed during the Panic of 1875, opened for a brief period and closed finally in January, 1876, whereupon the *Los Angeles County Bank* moved to its quarters in the Temple Block. In 1891 it changed its name to *Bank of America* and although it survived the Panic of 1893 it

soon liquidated voluntarily, paying all claims in full. Slauson had sold his interest in 1885.

On May 28th, 1874, Pío Pico, party of the first part, entered into an agreement with William H. Perry and James M. Riley, owners in fee of:

... the lot known as the Blue Wing ... adjoining the lot of Pico ...
on which the parties of the second part are about to erect a three story
brick building ...

An advertisement in the *Express* for May 18, 1874, would seem to indicate that the Blue Wing was a sort of early day super-market in a small way; it sold confectionery, liquors, cigars and tobacco, groceries and provisions and fruit. All goods guaranteed first quality; 38 Main, a few doors north of the Clarendon; Perasich and Petrovich. Although the *Express* stated on May 19th that the Blue Wing Buildings were being demolished to give room for Perry and Riley's splendid new block, the Blue Wing continued in business until one wall collapsed with considerable damage to the stock of merchandise.

The agreement of May 28th, 1874, provided that Perry and Riley could use the north wall of Pico's Building as a party wall and they proceeded to erect the Grand Central Hotel. It was more of a family hotel than the Bella Union but at one time both hotels and the upper floor of Pico's Building were operated as a single unit. In 1873 the Bella Union changed its name to Clarendon and in 1875 to St. Charles.⁹

Although Alexander Rendon was listed as a barber in 1873¹⁰ at 42 Main Street he was probably in Pico's Building as old photographs show a barber pole in front of the place; Emeliano Asevedo is also listed as a barber at 42 Main in 1873 and again in 1875. By the latter year the shop had become quite an establishment and was "Reinecke & Jones, Proprietors, Clarendon Shaving Saloon & Bath House." In addition to G. Reinecke, Samuel Jones, and Asevedo there were also Charles Hasse or Hesse and Evaristo Hosman, barbers at the same address in 1875. By 1878 the barber shop was gone and that half of the building began a long restaurant career.

In the early Eighties there were several livery stables close to

Pico's Building

the bank: George Butler at 29 Main, N. A. Covarrubias at 18 Main, Ferguson & Rose at 39 Main and John Zens at 138 Main. Saloons were not hard to find being located at 33, 38, 43, 57 and 69 Main Street. The bank's second home was occupied by a saloon around the turn of the century.

In 1879-80 Charles Raymond and Govine Tomicich had a restaurant and oyster house at 42 Main but whether in the Grand Central or Pico's Building is not known. B. W. Edelman, son of the eminent Rabbi Abraham Edelman, was a tobacconist at 44 around 1879 and 1880.

A little later in the early Eighties, G. Martich and G. Stuparish were operating as the Queen Chop House in Pico's Building. In 1886-87 Jack Marietich was advertising:

Queen Chop House, 222 Main. Open Night and Day.

Oysters in Every Style.

Private Rooms for Ladies.

In the meantime the building had a new owner; The Savings and Loan Society, a corporation, of San Francisco had acquired it and the Pico House thru foreclosures on or about July 21st, 1880.

Pico, who had possessed Rancho Ex-Misión de San Fernando 121,000 acres, Rancho Paso de Bartolo (Ranchito or Little Ranch) 8,891 acres and Rancho Santa Margarita y Las Flores 133,440.78 acres extending for many miles along the San Diego County coast, was rapidly becoming penniless. It was said of him that if he was not being sued, he was looking for someone to sue. In his many court contests he usually finished second.

Bernard Cohn became the owner in 1883; he died on November 4th, 1889 and his heirs appear as the next owners.

The *Los Angeles Daily Journal* reported in November, 1890:

The Supreme Court affirmed the decision yesterday of the Superior Court in the celebrated case of Ex. Gov. Pio Pico against B. Cohn, which finally defeats the venerable litigant.

On May 21, 1895, Julius B. Cohn, Casper C. Cohn, Carrie Cohn Cahen and her husband Simon Cahen deeded: ". . . the property known as the County Bank Building . . ." to Hugo Zuber in consideration of \$11,250, part of the description being:

. . . thence at right angles easterly 112.52 feet, more or less, to a stone wall, as it existed April 23, 1861.

The Chop House changed hands several times, Giovanni Scotto being listed as the proprietor in 1890 and John Marriesich in 1891; in the latter year the address is shown for the first time as 322 North Main Street, its present number.

In 1892 the name was changed to the Old Queen Chop House. Peter L. Marincovich was the proprietor and continued until his death; associated with him were Andrew Marietich in 1892, Antonio Telemoto in 1894 and Marietich again in 1896. It was called variously the Old Queen Chop House, the Old Queen Coffee House and the Old Queen Restaurant but the name was dropped about 1903.

Following Ben W. Edelman, the tobacconist, Charles Henry Bush occupied the old bank quarters about 1881; he was a jeweler and watchmaker who had been at 79 Main Street for several years. The directories usually stated that his residence was the same as his business but it is likely that he lived in the upper story as there was hardly sufficient space in his small store, divided into three rooms, on the first floor for his business and living quarters.

In 1901 Fannie Kneib ran a rooming house in the upper story and beginning in that year Bush was listed as "rooms same." In 1902 Charles and Fannie Kinnamon lived upstairs and the latter was operating the rooming house, being succeeded by August Peterson in 1903 and 1904. Unlike the tenants below, rooming house managers did not remain long at 320 and Mrs. May E. Griffin was renting furnished rooms in 1905 and 1906.

Pico's Building had an unspectacular career with its respectable banks, jewelry store and restaurants while the Bella Union to which Isaias W. Hellman had brought his bride in 1870, where Isaac N. Van Nuys and Susana H. Lankershim were married February 10th, 1880¹¹ and which was the birthplace of Charles Alfred Ducommun, became increasingly notorious; it saw the whole gamut of life: births, christenings, marriages, natural deaths, suicides, shooting scrapes, murders and funerals.¹²

The most sensational event was the Carlisle-King affair. On July 5th, 1865, a wedding banquet and ball were held at the Bella Union, honoring Solomon Lazard and his bride, Caroline Newmark.

Pico's Building

During the evening there arose a quarrel between Robert Carlisle and Under-Sheriff Andrew Jackson King but bystanders separated them although King received severe stab wounds that might have been fatal except for the presence of Dr. John S. Griffin. The quarrel apparently was over the outcome of the trial of the murderer of John Rains; both Rains and Carlisle were sons-in-law of Isaac Williams, former owner of the Bella Union site. On the following day King's brothers, Frank and Houston, shot it out with Carlisle at the Bella Union. Frank King and Carlisle were killed and Houston King was severely wounded.¹³

Pico's Building must have looked disapprovingly at such rowdiness and the Bella Union could have derived considerable satisfaction when suddenly its next door neighbor's skeleton-in-the-closet popped out and fell flat on its face.

WHERE'S BUSH'S GOLD! WHO ARE HIS HEIRS? RICH AND ECCENTRIC JEWELER. WILL OF RICH OLD JEWELER YET TO BE DISCOVERED. BOX OF COIN SAID TO BE MISSING. PROBABLY CONTEST OVER ESTATE.

Thus reported the *Los Angeles Times* on Tuesday, July 25, 1905, with a picture of Bush's store in Pico's Building, labeled: "Where He Made His Pile" and with it was a photograph of the dignified looking bearded jeweler.

According to the *Times*, Bush had been suddenly stricken with blindness while having his supper next door at the Old Queen where he had taken his meals for many years. He had cried out to the proprietor, Mastinich: "Help me Tony, I can't see any more," talked incoherently and was taken to the California Hospital where he remained unconscious for 13 days until his death on July 22. Bush had been robbed of several valuable rings a few months earlier. Mastinich stated that Bush kept large quantities of silver and gold in boxes in his safe but only \$250 could be found.¹⁷ Some guessed that he had been poisoned, with robbery as the motive and said that disputed claims had already arisen. It was thought that he had real estate at Seventh and Los Angeles and a cottage and several lots in Santa Monica.

The Bella Union chuckled.

The attending physician diagnosed the illness as uraemic poisoning and stated that an autopsy was not necessary; several

doctors at the hospital concurred and certificate of death was filed accordingly.

Bush was a native of Pennsylvania but the family moved to Illinois where Charles Bush followed in his father's foot-steps as a jeweler and watch-maker. He kept current literature and newspapers in his store; among his customers were Stephen A. Douglas and Abraham Lincoln, the latter dropping in each morning to scan the news and talk with the proprietor who predicted that Lincoln would be president of the United States within eight years. He tried five times to enlist during the Civil War but was rejected for physical reasons; he was appointed Commissary and served at Cairo, Illinois until the end of the war. Family difficulties prompted him to leave home and he came to California in March, 1870. Subsequently he and his son were on good terms; the latter was married, had two children and was employed by the U. S. Treasury in Washington.¹⁴ Bush was a member of the Los Angeles County Pioneer Society and of Pentalpha Masonic Lodge, where he had been Worshipful Master.

Although someone had asked Bush if he had made a will and he replied that everything was attended to, no will was found and a nephew was granted Letters of Administration upon the statement that Bush left neither widow nor children and that his heirs were two sisters and a brother.

A telegram from the son in Washington halted the probate. Although the son had been referred to as Charles Bush, Jr., and the first document filed in his behalf used that name, in all subsequent proceedings he was called Philo L. Bush. He came to Los Angeles and D. C. McGarvin, public administrator was granted Letters of Administration, superseding the nephew. Bush had \$1,968 in a bank but only \$60.50 "cash on hand" so that if he had had the boxes of gold and silver previously mentioned, they had disappeared. He had 25 shares of stock in the First National Bank of Los Angeles valued at \$9,375.

Bush had invested in real estate but had only one piece of improved property, a lot roughly 43 by 127 feet facing Los Angeles Street, 169.52 feet north of First Street on which there was a three-story brick building. This property was worth \$45,000 and had

Pico's Building

yielded rentals of \$2,250 during the probate. A portion of Lot 8 Block 37 of Hancock's Survey, unimproved, was valued at \$115,000. He had other parcels in Los Angeles and Santa Monica valued at \$20,800 and five acres near Anaheim worth \$150. The final inventory was \$209,779.68 of which there was available for distribution to Philo Bush the sole heir, assets valued at \$201,443.62.¹⁵

The Bella Union sighed a sigh of disappointment. The skeleton, if any, was hardly worth stuffing back into the closet.

Bush's lease was sold for \$200 to C. Stern; B. Charles Stern, pawnbroker, was listed at 318 North Main in 1906 and 1907.

About 1898 David Pearlson and his wife with their sons Arthur H., Abraham, George S., and Louis E. migrated from Lithuania to Boston; seven years later they came to California. Louis E. Pearlson bought out Stern and remained in Pico's Building until his death, November 19th, 1948. He was listed as a jeweler through 1930, "Loans" in 1931 and thereafter as a pawnbroker. He bought Pico's Building in 1936; it was inherited by his wife and four children in 1951 and remains in the family.

Arthur and Abraham Pearlson are still living; the four brothers had 12 children and among them are doctors, lawyers, a chemist and business men.

After the death of Louis, the business was sold to Arthur Salter who operated as the Federal Loan & Jewelry Co. It closed on February first of this year.

From 1937 through 1941 Cho T. Sun rented a part of the upper floor for his C. T. Sun Co., Chinese Herbs—Yerbas Chinas. The upper floor was also used as a meeting place for Chinese clubs. Later it became an Oriental rooming house.

After the death of Peter Marincovich, his widow Maria or Mary L. Marincovich ran the restaurant for a couple of years. From 1909 through 1913 John Restovich had the restaurant, Prospero Barisch in 1914 and 1915, and that ended the 37-year tenure of restaurant owners with names of Slavic origin. Next it became a Greek restaurant for several years under Gust Angelopoulos who had Frank Costes associated with him for a short time.

Around 1922 Enrique Dominguez opened a Mexican restaurant in Pico's Building as Arizona Cafe No. 2; No. 1 was at 111

Commercial and later he also ran Arizona Cafe No. 3. In 1932 No. 2 passed to the Luna family from Guadalajara, Jalisco, and at various times was listed under José C. Luna, Alberto C. Luna and the latter's wife, Natalia C. Luna. The Arizona Cafe was sold to Martin Machorro in 1954; he continued it as a Mexican restaurant. The Arizona Cafe closed March 15, 1957.

The last vestige of the Bella Union will disappear when the south wall of Pico's Building crumbles. The Grand Central outlasted the Bella Union 17 years but March, 1957, saw its death and there remains only the wall it shared with its neighbor. That too will pass.

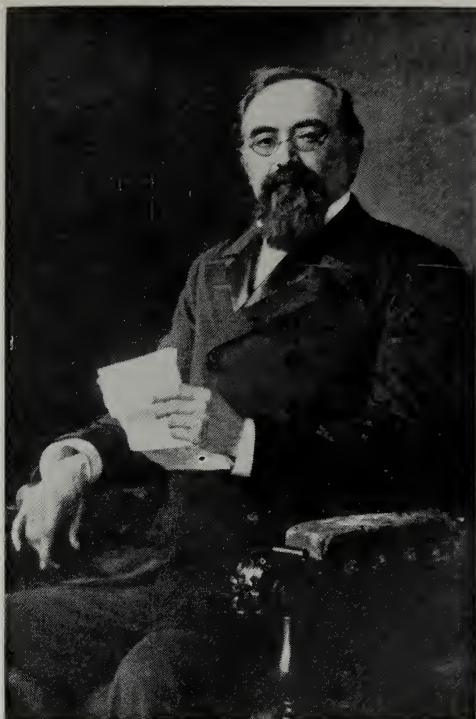
It was here that Isaias W. Hellman laid the foundation for his fabulous banking fame and fortune. Over the threshold passed every prominent citizen of the late Sixties and early Seventies, governors, generals, the great and the small, merchants, ranchers, sheepmen and all the elements that made up the community in that era that saw its dynamic transformation from Mexican pueblo to American city. Later it ministered to the impoverished and the improvident. For about 80 years it fed multitudes. It has seen its neighbors disappear year after year. Next will go Dr. Richard S. Den's Building: "... on the property of John G. Downey occupied by J. C. Welch as a Drug Store ..."—it too, is doomed. Gone from the same block, the Baker, Arcadia and Ducommun buildings leaving only the 1870 Hellman Building, at Los Angeles and Commercial, the first of many buildings erected by Isaias W. Hellman and the small one-story structure where Sam Foy had his harness and saddle shop. Remaining also:

... a stonewall in the rear of the property of Abel Stearns and Foy & Bros. ...

built by Bachman & Co. and Abel Stearns.¹⁶

When the area of Pico's Building, the Grand Central and Den's Building is black-topped it will look the same as any other black-topped parking lot, their identities lost, characterless and impersonal.

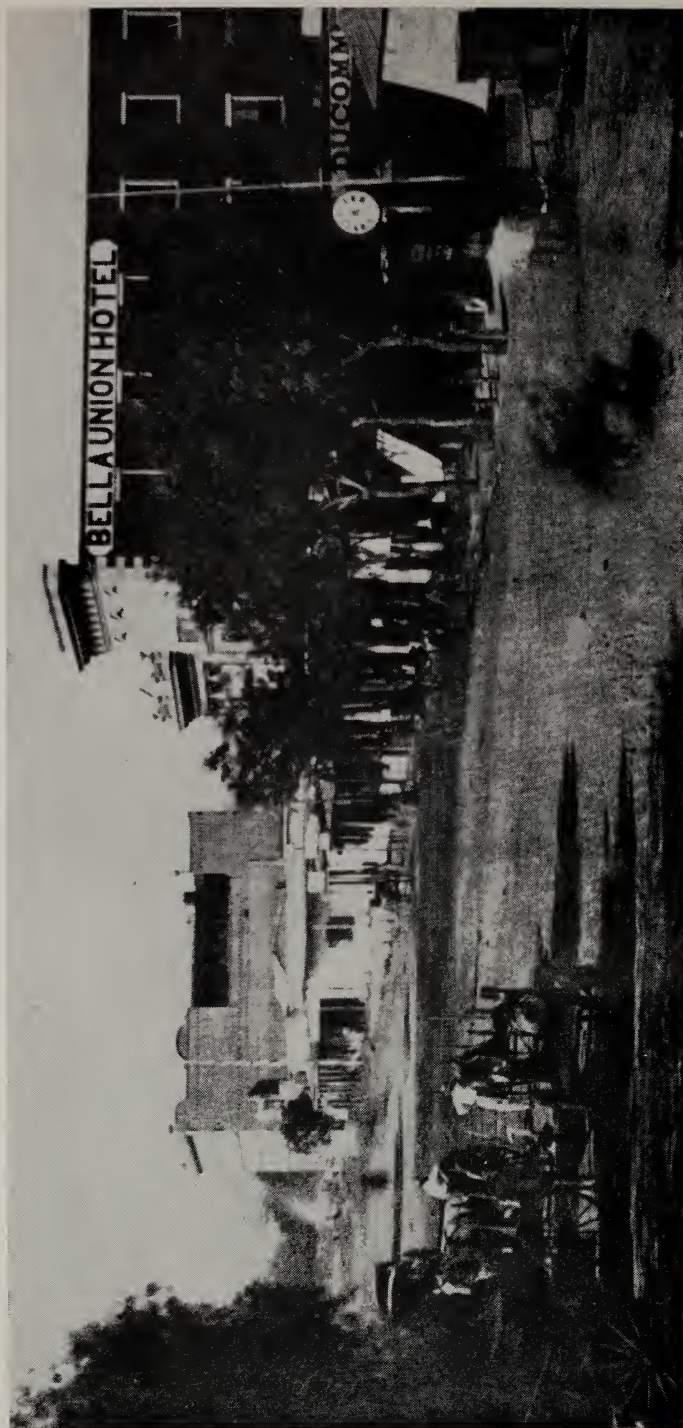
A tiny part of Pico's Building endures, the 89-year-old marble fire place from the room in the banking quarters, a gift to the Historical Society of Southern California.



— Security-First National Bank of Los Angeles Collection

ISAIAS W. HELLMAN

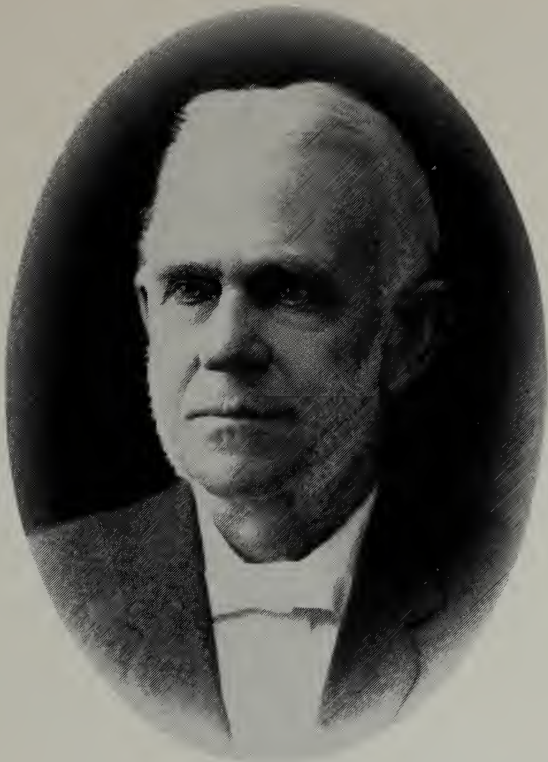
*Partner in Hellman, Temple and Company,
established in 1868, second banking partner-
ship in Los Angeles. Hellman organized
the Farmers and Merchants Bank.*



— Historical Division, Los Angeles County Museum Collection

MAIN STREET, LOS ANGELES, ABOUT 1870

*This photograph was taken after the erection of the Pico House
but before completion of the Merced Theater*



-- *Security-First National Bank of Los Angeles Collection*

J. S. SLAUSON
Father of James Slauson



—Frank B. Putnam Collection

TWILIGHT YEARS
*The historic old street as it
appears in 1957*

Pico's Building

NOTES

1. "Se Fundaron un Pueblo de Españoles," page 98 and "Soldiers and Settlers of the Expedition of 1781"; page 103 et seq; Thomas Workman Temple II; *Annual, Historical Society of Southern California*, 1931.
2. Another soldier was Maximo Alanís y Casillas, great grandfather of Ana Bégué de Packman, Secretary Emeritus of the Historical Society.
3. *Beverly Hills, a Calendar of Events in the Making of a City*; W. W. Robinson; Title Guarantee and Trust Company; 1938, page 4. Robinson is a director of the Historical Society.
4. *The Ranch of the Gathering of the Waters*; Security-First National Bank; 1934, page 10.
5. Samuel Calvert Foy was the father of Miss Mary Foy. The small building is still in use.
6. The directors of the Farmers & Merchants Bank on August 16th, 1881 authorized the sale of the vault and fixtures pertaining to it, to the Agency of the Pima County Bank, Tombstone, Arizona. Ed. Schieffelin, discoverer of Tombstone was a depositor at the Farmers & Merchants.
7. Except when quoting, it will still be referred to as Pico's Building.
8. Calle de los Negros—Street of the Dark Ones or Brunets. It should not have been called Negro or Nigger Alley. The origin of the name was explained in a letter signed "S.F.C." in the *Los Angeles Express*, March 24th, 1877 and reprinted in the *QUARTERLY* for June-September 1944, page 98.
9. The Bella Union—Clarendon—St. Charles will be referred to as the Bella Union.
10. Much of these data are from city directories so that the dates given may sometimes be wrong by a year or two.
11. *I. N. Van Nuys 1835-1912*; James R. Page; Ward Ritchie Press; 1944 pp. 14-17.
12. First Hotel in Los Angeles; Maymie R. Krythe in the four *QUARTERLIES* for 1951; the fascinating history of the Bella Union.
13. Other killings involving these two families: Rains' murderer was sentenced to San Quentin but en route was given an impromptu "suspended" sentence from the flag pole on the lighter in the harbor at Wilmington; the King brothers' father was murdered and the murderer in turn was killed in vengeance. José Ramón Carrillo, superintendent of Rancho Cucamonga, owned by Rains' widow Mercedes Williams de Rains, was shot from ambush while accompanying Mrs. Rains. His murderer was never found.
14. *Historical and Biographical Record of Los Angeles and Vicinity*; J. M. Guinn; 1901, page 616. Guinn was president of the Historical Society.
15. Bush Estate; Probate No. 8687, Superior Court of Los Angeles County; order of July 23rd, 1906.
16. The wall extends the entire width of the Den, Grand Central and Foy lots, partly across the Pico parcel and may continue farther under the black top of a parking lot. Frequently such landmarks described in old deeds as walls, fences, springs, stones, etc., soon disappeared causing considerable trouble and even litigation in later years. This wall remains true to its trust.
17. Tony Mastinich may have been an employee as Marincovich is listed as the owner every year from 1893 through 1906 and his widow in 1907. Marincovich died November 22nd, 1906.

Book Reviews

LOWER CALIFORNIA GUIDEBOOK. By Peter Gerhard and Howard E. Gulick. The Arthur H. Clark Company, Glendale, California (1956), pp. 218. Maps, Ills. Cloth \$6.00; stiff paper cover \$5.25.

How to get about in Baja California today is the theme of this superbly presented, fully mapped guidebook.

It opens with a frank warning that the back roads of Lower California are definitely not for the fastidious tourist and that south of Ensenada the tourist will find few good hotels, practically no restaurants, no cozy American bars, very few shower baths, and mostly no plumbing or electricity. What we have in this volume is a complete reference guide for vacationers, sport-fishermen, hunters, explorers, campers, yachtmen, private air pilots—yes, and for librarians and arm-chair travelers.

Until recent years the only way of getting about in Lower California was by pack mule or boat. Now the important places can be reached by automobile. There are railroads near the border, passenger-carrying ships touch the principal ports, and airlines serve a few key points. Good paved roads connect the border towns and work is progressing on the transpeninsular highway south of Ensenada and north from La Paz.

The authors have spared no personal hardship to come up with a book that describes every road and desert trail, with complete route mileages, point-to-point mileages, and data on food, drink, fuel, and accommodations. Missions—and there are many of them—villages, ranches, beaches, trails, camping spots—nothing is overlooked. And there is enough history and comment upon the people and their customs to make it meaningful to the most lethargic librarian or chair-ridden reader.

There is a folding key map and there are detailed route maps. A brief bibliography is included.

Baja California, still a primitive area, is a coming country, and this first, up-to-date guide performs a unique, interesting, and important service.—W. W. Robinson.

Activities of the Society

MEETING — TUESDAY, JANUARY 29, 1957

President Gustave O. Arlt opened the meeting by announcing the launching of a membership drive that is to run continuously through 1957. Director K. L. Carver, chairman of the Membership Committee, outlined plans for obtaining new members and asked each one present to submit a list of personally-nominated prospective new members. The response was gratifying.

President Arlt then asked Director Frank B. Putnam to introduce the speaker of the evening, Mr. Norman A. Woest, director of community relations for the Title Insurance and Trust Company. Mr. Woest based his entertaining and informative talk upon the extensive historical pictorial collection that has been built up through the years by Director W. W. Robinson, vice-president of the Trust company. The address, "Our Yesterdays," was illustrated with many slides made from early Los Angeles photographs in the Title Insurance and Trust Company's collection.

As an added attraction for the evening, Mr. Woest brought along many historic pamphlets and books, including the book, "Panorama," that Mr. Robinson had authored for his company.

Mrs. Edmond F. Ducommun, chairman of the Hostesses Committee, presided during the social hour at which the usual coffee and refreshments were served.

MEETING—TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 26, 1957

President Gustave O. Arlt opened the meeting by announcing that new directors elected at the February Board meeting were: Gustave O. Arlt, Marco R. Newmark, Colin M. Gair and Glenn S. Dumke. New directors appointed to fill vacancies on the Board that have been created by resignations were: Dwight L. Clarke, Lorrin L. Morrison and Justin G. Turner. These new Directors join K. L. Carver, Mrs. Edward A. Dickson, Edmond F. Ducommun,

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

Oscar Lawler, Ana Begue de Packman, Frank B. Putnam, W. W. Robinson, Mrs. Marshall Stimson and Miss Grace S. Stoermer in completing the roster of the Society's Board of Directors.

Society Director Colin M. Gair was introduced as the speaker of the evening. His subject, "Washington, Lincoln and Other Outstanding Presidents," was well received by a capacity audience. Director Gair is a past-president of the Sons of the Revolution, past-governor of the Society of Colonial Wars and is active in many ways in preserving the historical traditions of the American people.

Refreshments followed the lecture and good fellowship prevailed during the social hour that was presided over by Mrs. Edmond F. Ducommun, chairman of the Hostesses Committee. She was assisted at the coffee urns by Mrs. Colin Gair and Miss Catherine Carr.

MEETING — TUESDAY, MARCH 26, 1957

The Board of Directors met prior to the regular monthly meeting for the purpose of electing officers of the Society for the year 1957. Officers elected were: Gustave O. Arlt, president; Glenn S. Dumke, first vice-president; Justin G. Turner, second vice-president; Frank B. Putnam, treasurer; Guy E. Marion, executive secretary and curator, and Ana Begue de Packman, secretary emeritus.

The regular meeting was highlighted by the reading of a list of nineteen new members of the Society who have joined as a result of the membership drive. The list is printed on page 95 of this issue of the *QUARTERLY*. Many of the new members were in attendance and President Arlt asked them to stand as their names were called.

Another highlight of the meeting was the attendance of former Society President Rockwell D. Hunt. Dr. Hunt, in acknowledging his introduction, was most felicitous in his remarks and cordially invited all members of the Society to attend the Conference of California Historical Societies which will meet in San Diego in June.

Program Committee Chairman Frank B. Putnam introduced Mrs. Maida Borel Boyle, lecturer on history, Division of Education, Los Angeles County Museum, who reviewed the history of the "Pico House, Mansion to Derelict." She vividly portrayed the history of this building from the time of its erection until the

Activities of the Society

present day. Mrs. Boyle illustrated her talk with many pictorial slides, some in black-and-white photography and some in full-color. An item of great historic interest displayed at the meeting was the great register of the Pico House, with a complete list of its guests through the period when it was one of the finest hotels on the Pacific Coast.

The social hour, following the regular meeting, was well attended, with Mesdames Stimson and Wolfskill presiding at the coffee urns.

Gifts to the Society

In each issue of THE QUARTERLY there appears a list of the donors and gifts made currently to the Society.

The Society is making an especial effort to build up its collection of historic materials, such as diaries, letters, account books, early newspapers, theatre and other programs, pictures of early-day life in California and costumes. We need your help.

Many members having treasured ancestral keepsakes were impelled to give them to the Society because of the realization that in private possession they would, sooner or later, disappear or deteriorate, whereas, in the custody of the Historical Society of Southern California they will be preserved indefinitely.

MARCO R. NEWMARK,
Chairman, Committee on Gifts and Bequests

MR. R. L. LENTART, Bellflower, California — “*Snap and Views*” — a personal album of pictures of the donor’s family and friends, taken in 1900 and 1901 (with a few taken at later dates). This album is interesting as it shows the life of the times at picnic grounds, parades, beaches and other outing events in many Southland locations.

MR. PERCY M. ALLEN, Los Angeles — *A surveyor’s link chain* used in the measurement of land. This chain was received by the donor from his father, William Allen, who came to Los Angeles direct from England in 1879. The father bought property and settled on land that is now part of Altadena.

MRS. DIANA F. PELOW, North Hollywood — Old “*Policy of Title Insurance*” issued by Orange County Title Company; “*Agreement for the Sale of Real Property*” at San Clemente, the Spanish Village, and “*Correspondence*” regarding the same.

MR. J. FARMAN, Los Angeles — Set of *early California automobile license plates* and a few *wartime tokens* in use in 1944 and now becoming rare.

MRS. JOHN GAUNT, Beverly Hills — One *child’s dress*, two *redingotes* and one *2-piece dress*. These garments were found in the attic of the Fountaingrove Estate on the Healdsburg Highway north of Santa Rosa and given to Mrs. Gaunt by the owner, Prince Konoye Nagasawa, a Japanese descendant of the House of Konoye. Mr. Nagasawa was educated at Oxford University in England and came to California with an English group who established a cult at Fountaingrove. He outlived his English associates and inherited the estate, 3,000 acres of vineyard land. In later years he became a close personal friend of Luther Burbank, Thomas A. Edison and many important Californians. He died about 1936 at an age of over 80 years.

New Members

The officers and the Board of Directors welcome the following new members into the *Historical Society of Southern California*:

Joseph J. La Barbera
George S. Moffatt
Walter S. Hilbom
Vera C. Rousch
Virginia Gaunt
Thomas L. Newmark
Edna Newmark
Herbert M. Morley
W. G. O'Barr
Dora M. Robbins
Mrs. Charles W. Gates, II
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James D. Macneil
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R. L. Lentart
Raymond H. Morrison

Publications
of the
Historical Society of
Southern California

2425 Wilshire Boulevard, Los Angeles 57, California

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1892 — Annual Containing the Sutro
 Documents with translations - - each \$3.00

1931 — One Hundred Fiftieth Anniversary Special Publication
 (Annual for 1931) - - - - each \$5.00

All other numbers of Annual
 Publications - - - - - each \$2.50

A limited number of sets of Annuals
 (1892 - 1934, inclusive) are
 available - - - - - per set \$75.00

These sets do not include Annuals for 1895, 1924 or 1933,
 which are out of print.

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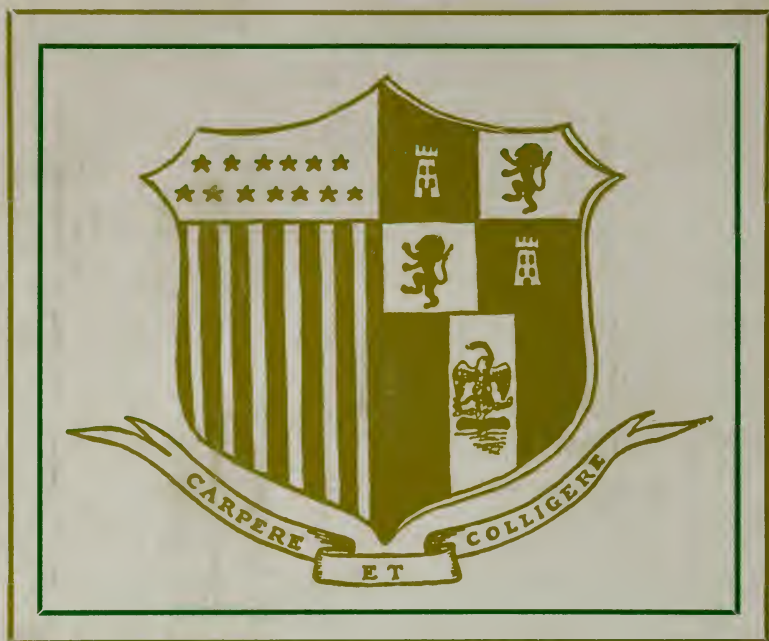
Individual single numbers to
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 members - - - - - each \$3.00

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 non-members - - - - - per run \$10.00

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Individual double numbers to
 non-members - - - - - each \$4.00



June, 1957

Vol. XXXIX — No. 2

The

Historical Society of Southern California

QUARTERLY



—Brian McGinty Collection

RAMONA CARRILLO PACHECO WILSON

See "The Carrillos of San Diego," page 127

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA was organized in 1883, and has enjoyed a record of continuous activity for nearly three-quarters of a century: Commencing in 1886, and each year until 1935, the Society issued an Annual Publication. In 1935 the *Quarterly* was initiated. It is published each March, June, September and December.

It is the aim of the Editorial Board to make the *Quarterly* a publication of general historical interest. Suggestions and criticisms are always welcomed, and all persons, whether members of the Society or not, are invited to submit for the consideration of the editors original articles, old letters, documents, maps and other material bearing upon the history and development of this region.

The Society's Purposes and Objectives are:

- To sponsor and encourage observances of historic dates and anniversaries;
- To preserve and protect the archives and historic sites of the Southwest with particular stress on Southern California;
- To assist in the marking and restoration of landmarks which inspire interest and respect for events, persons and customs of the past;
- To promote activity in the conservation of public records, historical documents, newspapers, museum material and related Californiana;
- To preserve, as an aid to business and industry, business records, industrial and transportation history and the use of historic material in public relations;
- To encourage the increased use of history in the schools, to the end that there shall be developed a greater interest in, respect for, and loyalty to our American institutions;
- To publish material of permanent historic interest and significance;
- To assist and encourage all persons and organizations engaged in similar activities;
- To hold regular monthly meetings in Los Angeles (except during the summer months) at which persons of recognized authority in their respective subjects appear as guest speakers, followed by refreshments and a social hour;
- To gather at least once each year in a pilgrimage to some spot of historic significance.

This Society is a public non-profit corporation. The principal sources of revenue for its operations and maintenance are from membership dues, contributions and bequests. It renders a worthy public service and needs your support.

MEMBERSHIP CLASSIFICATIONS:

(Dues include one subscription to the QUARTERLY)

<i>Life Member</i>	\$200.00	<i>Sustaining Member</i>	\$ 25.00
<i>Patron Member</i>	100.00	<i>Active Member</i>	10.00

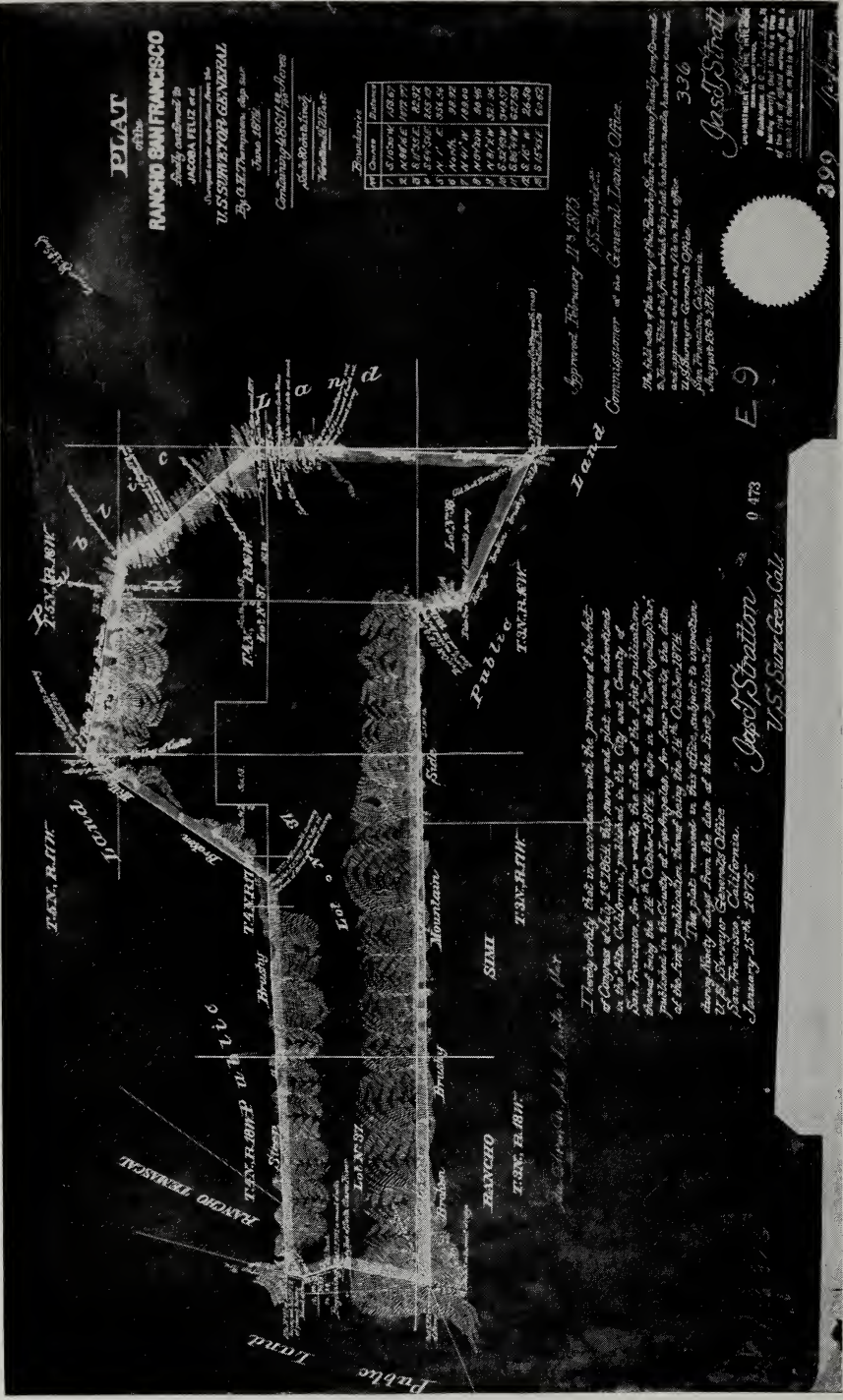
Membership dues and contributions to the Society are deductible for income tax purposes.

Articles, stories, books for review, and all material to appear in the QUARTERLY, and general society correspondence should be addressed to:

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA
GUY E. MARION, Executive Secretary
 1909 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles 18, California
 Telephone REpublic 4-2823

The
Historical Society of Southern California

QUARTERLY



—Photo from the Author's Collection

THE GEORGE H. THOMPSON SURVEY OF RANCHO SAN FRANCISCO

This survey was based on the Hancock Survey. Sherman Day, U. S. Surveyor General for California, was probably wrong in his conclusion of error at start of Survey. The Santa Clara River, at Piru, has historically meandered over the entire wash, or river bed.

The
Historical Society of Southern California

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The Historical Society of Southern California

FOUNDED NOVEMBER 1, 1883

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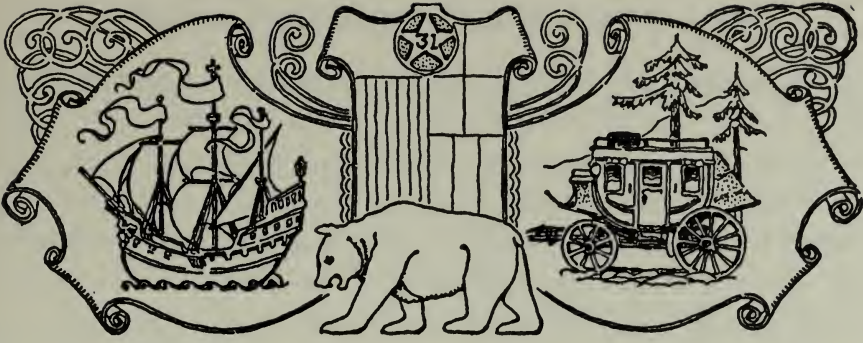
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GUSTAVE O. ARLT, *Editor*

FRANK B. PUTNAM, *Pictorial Editor*

The Historical Society of Southern California QUARTERLY for June, 1957

Rancho San Francisco: *A Study of a California Land Grant*

By Arthur B. Perkins

RANCHO SAN FRANCISCO designates the headwater area of the Santa Clara River, draining the northwesterly portion of Los Angeles County. Geographically, it is a *cañada*, or narrow valley lying between two mountain chains. The motorist on California State Highway 6 enters the old rancho limit slightly beyond the crest of Newhall Pass, and leaves the rancho boundaries on Highway 99 near the town of Castaic. If the motorist turns westerly on California Highway 126, by Castaic Junction, he will run out of the rancho boundaries when crossing Piru Creek.

New England prestige dating commences with the landing of the Mayflower Pilgrims. Correspondingly, California history commences with the Sacred Expedition, sent by Fr. Junipero Serra from San Diego in 1769, to find the legendary Bay of Monterey. Don Gaspar de Portola was the military leader, Frs. Juan Crespi and Gomez were spiritual leaders, and Don Miguel Costanso was the engineer of the expedition. Each kept diaries. The Sacred Expedi-

tion becomes the first visitation of white men to the aboriginal population of the area yet to become Rancho San Francisco.

The diaries tell of encampment in the vicinity of today's Tunnel Station, August 7, 1769. The morning of the eighth, the party painfully climbed and descended rugged and precipitous mountains into the headwater area of the Santa Clara River.¹

Fr. Crespi's description of the country through which the expedition marched down the Santa Clara river bed to today's Castaic Junction, cannot be bettered.

The country, from the village to the watering place, is delightful and beautiful in the plain although the mountains that surround it are barren and rough. In the plain, we saw many tall and thick cottonwoods and oaks.

The watering place consists of an arroyo with a great deal of water which runs in a moderately wide valley well grown with cottonwoods.

We stopped on the bank of the arroyo where we found a populous village in which the people lived without any cover, for they had no more than a light shelter fenced in like a corral.

The Soldiers called it *Rancheria del Corral*, and I called it *Santa Rosa de Viterbo*.

As soon as we arrived, they gave us many baskets of different kinds of seeds, and a sort of sweet preserve like little raisins, and another resembling honeycombs, very sweet and purging and made of the dew that sticks to the reed grass.

It is a very suitable site for a Mission, with much good land, many palisades, two very large arroyos of water and five large villages close together.²

The reader has thus progressed from Newhall Pass to Castaic Junction. The *corrales*, or villages, vanished 75 years ago. The last in use was about three miles westerly from Castaic as in 1887. The two streams, the Santa Clara River and Castaic Creek, still run. The populous village was known as "Chaguayabit," or "Kash Tuk," and not far from today's Castaic Junction.

The expedition remained encamped August 9th, continuing down the Santa Clara river bank the 10th and 11th. That night they camped by the populous Indian village of Kamulus, close to today's Piru, and in the afternoon of the 12th passed over the limits

Rancho San Francisco

to be of Rancho San Francisco and into the wider reaches of the Santa Clara valley.³

The expedition set-up was admirable. Fr. Crespi's diary described the trip with an eye to establishment of future missions, blanketing existing Indian villages, their population, water availability and factors of economic support.

On the return in December, the expedition made use of the pass by Calabasas.

When the reports of the Sacred Expedition were studied in Mexico City, His Excellency, the Viceroy, Marquis de Croix, at once wrote, charging Fr. Serra with the establishment of five more Missions, one of which was to be known as Santa Clara.⁴

Missions, however, necessitated soldiers to act as guards, supplies, and some monies, none of which were then forthcoming. In 1773, the founding of Santa Clara Mission at the site of Chaguayabit, the *Rancheria del Corral*, is again written about but nothing done.⁵ In 1776, Fr. Francisco Garces entered the valley by the route of the Sacred Expedition, came down the river bed but passed to the north of Chaguayabit on his expedition to Tulare Lake.⁶ This was the first recorded visit of a white man since 1769. The Mission Fathers were still using the pass by Calabasas. Fr. Garces stayed ten days at one of the Indian villages and, in his turn, was impressed by the hospitality and affability of the local Indians.

Fr. Serra died in 1784. He was succeeded by Fr. Fermin Lasuen as *Presidente* of the California Missions, who undertook the task of filling the gaps in the Mission chain. Between San Gabriel and San Buenaventure Missions was over seventy-five miles, a tough three-day march. Also, the intervening Encino (San Fernando) Valley was the site of a very large number of Indian *rancherias*, or villages, too isolated from existing Missions for conversions, or administration.

In 1795, therefore, Fr. Lasuen ordered Fr. Vicente de Santa Maria to examine and report on possible Mission sites. Triunfo, Chaguayabit (*Rancheria del Corral*), and the Francisco Reyes rancho in the Encino (San Fernando) Valley were examined. The Reyes site was recommended and chosen.⁷ Mission San Fernando was formally founded by Fr. Lasuen September 8, 1797.

This shortened the gap to about sixty intervening miles between Mission San Fernando and Mission San Buenaventura, whose field of activity extended only to Sespe Creek, less than one half the distance. Between the Sespe and San Fernando, there was a gap of some thirty miles, encompassing some twenty Indian villages or *rancherias*, and possessing a twenty mile stretch of fertile land through which flowed the Santa Clara river.

Mission San Fernando had to contribute to the upkeep of the Presidio at Santa Barbara, from whence came the soldiers of the Mission Guards, and the civil administration. Contributions were bulky, grains, beans, soap, tallow all of which were difficult to pack over the mountains. A productive plant on the Santa Barbara side of the San Fernando mountains would have no transportation problem, it being down hill practically all of the distance to the Presidio. Also there was an adjacent back country of tremendous scope, which could provide excellent grazing for mission herds.

At the beginning, Mission San Fernando simply acquired that entire headwater area of the Santa Clara River, easterly from Piru Creek, and called it "Rancho San Francisco." There were people who saw possibilities for personal gain in that ownership. In 1804, the Mission was vigorously protesting the grant of Camulos, at the westerly limit of Rancho San Francisco to one Francisco Avila.⁸ The protest was successful. Mission action was stimulated, however and, at Chaguayabit, Mission San Fernando proceeded to build their Asistencia at the precise site originally recommended by Fr. Crespi for the proposed Mission Santa Clara. It was on top of the flattish mesa which rises behind Castaic Junction of today.⁹ The Asistencia was built of adobe, and was about 105 feet by 17 feet in size.¹⁰

Here, Fr. Munoz may have stopped in October, 1806, on the Moraga-Munoz exploration of San Joaquin Valley.¹¹ It not only filled a need as a stopover to break the long walk between Missions San Fernando and San Buenaventura, it was the administrative headquarters of rancho activities, and training school for local neophytes, who, of course, furnished the labor for maintenance and operation.

It is doubtful if Mission San Fernando mixed neophytes from

Rancho San Francisco

Encino Valley with those of the rancho, for there were cultural boundaries at Sespe Creek and San Fernando hills. Between these boundaries, language dialects and customs inter-mixed.¹²

With the Asistencia practically sitting on top of the local Indian villages, Mission influence must have spread rapidly. Personal rights of the native Indians were non-existent. The Missions had to have labor to till the fields, tend the livestock, clear the land, prepare food for the help. Presidio economic overlordship made requisite training of cobblers, seamstresses, blacksmiths, tailors and muleteers. Adobe brick had to be made. Crushed shell, abundant in the local hills, had to be brought in, its admixture with adobe making the brick practically impervious to water. Tiles for floors and roofs had to be burned.

Naturally, tribal customs were forced to give way to the Mission system. From contemporary witnesses, it is gathered that whipping, stocks, and starvation were the usual method of enforcing Mission disciplines.¹³

Some time in those earlier years, the medicine men sorrowfully gathered together the precious symbols of their religious ritual. It must have been at night that their procession sadly climbed the steep ridges of the San Martin Canyon area. Ritualistically, they then deposited their treasured traditional regalia and retraced their steps. By some quirk of fantasy, that depository was an open cave, within plain view of the taskmasters at the Asistencia, although distance and rugged backgrounds veiled the tomb.¹⁴

By 1813, Rancho San Francisco herds had increased. Fencing became necessary to keep the cattle from other mission ranches out and the home stock in. The ruggedness of the Pass through the San Fernando hills became an asset, for at the narrow outlet of Grapevine Canyon, a single bar, from side to side, was all that was needed. At the Piru creek, a fence was built from hill to hill, across the river bed. The boundary line between San Francisco and Triunfo ranches was fenced.¹⁵

On the eastern rancho boundary, by "Taburga Tobinga,"¹⁶ an Indian village, an irrigation canal was dug and a small dam built.¹⁷ Indians were not necessarily universally mistreated. The Fathers also had problems, most of them stemming from the Presidio.

In 1821, Fr. Ybarra, at Mission San Fernando, writes "el Comandante de la Guerra" at Santa Barbara Presidio answering a requisition for 80 *fanegas* of grain, with 29 *fanegas* only, "all that was available."¹⁸

Again, 1825, answering Presidio requisitions, Fr. Ybarra writes,

I received your official note asking for \$300 worth of soap. To this, I must say, that there are \$30 to \$40 worth of that article for none has been made this year and very little last. There are on hand 100 *fanegas* of beans. Of this quantity, 25 to 30 are necessary for the guards, 10 must be deducted for the tithe, 16 are to be forwarded to the Presidio at Santa Barbara.

That leaves 44 or 49 for the Indian creditors, the real owners, those who picked them, first on account of the labor and care, and then on account of the punishment subjected to.¹⁹

Spain was expelled from Mexico in 1821. Missions could no longer appeal over the heads of Mexican authorities to Spanish administrators. The very background had changed. Trend was "Mexico for the Mexicans," locally translated as "California for the Californians." Today it would be called "Nationalism."

Expulsion of Spain was hardly completed, when Carlos Carrillo made an unsuccessful attempt to denounce Camulos rancho, westernmost portion of Rancho San Francisco. Was that attempt in the mind of Fr. Ybarra, when he wrote Carrillo in April, 1825,

That one should serve and respect him who is of benefit is very proper and just; but that one should feed him who not only does not protect, but positively destroys, requires a stout heart.

In effect, what benefit do I receive, or have I and the Mission received from your Presidio? What damages, on the other hand? Incalculable.

Yes, yes, if the Presidio did not exist, I could figure on my labor and toil. In that case, I should mind neither the Tulares nor the Sierras, the refuge of wicked men.

The second Sierra, or bawdry (Alcabetaria), your Presidio it is that annoys me. If a low man should behave in a low manner one should not be surprised; but that men who regard themselves as honorable act thus, this is what stuns.

Later, in this letter, Fr. Ybarra intimates that soldiers ought to work and raise grain and not live by the toil of the neophytes

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whom they rob and deceive for "the liberty which you hold up to these unfortunates is nothing more than slavery which contents only a few fools."²⁰

The above quotation gives an intimation of what the missions were currently thinking of the civil government.

It is equally possible that the Presidios considered the Missions a cheap supply source. What did the Indian think? In 1813, an "Interrogatorio" to Mission San Fernando answered that question. In the words of Fr. Munoz "At present there is not observed any aversion for either Europeans or Americans, rather only a supreme indifference" (by the Indian).²¹

Incidentally, Mission San Fernando plus Rancho San Francisco had brought El Camino Real to its original path, that of the Sacred Expedition, in spite of the mountain gradients.

To stimulate development in colonial possession, if the lands north of Mexico's present boundary may be so described, the Mexican Congress of 1824 legislated encouragement for land settlement. All Grants of national lands were limited to eleven square leagues (one league to be irrigable, four available for farming, and six for pasturage). There could be no absentee ownership, transference to any ecclesiastical body, and veterans had preference rights.

A square league contains 4,439 acres. That may seem a generous land allowance, but at that date there was no cash crop excepting hides and tallow. In Southern California, from 50 to 100 acres is frequently necessary per head of grazing stock, if the animal is not going to starve.

Maybe a couple of times within a year, an English or Boston trading vessel would come up the coast with merchandise which they bartered for hides and tallow. The money those ships left behind them, was practically all the money there was in local circulation. Even that amount of trade was against Mexican Laws.

The Mexican colonization promotion laws were in operation by 1828. Consider the Californian background. As Mr. Shinn points out "when the Missions were first established (under the Laws of the Indies), about 15 acres was allotted to each one; but lands were never surveyed and they gradually extended their bounds until they virtually laid claim to nearly the entire region."

The term Mission once meant only the church town with gardens and orchards near it, soon came to include extensive tracts over which cattle, horses and sheep owned by the establishment were allowed to roam at will.²²

Two generations of Californians by birth had developed. They were land hungry. Families were numerically large. California's entire economy was based upon cattle requiring 50 to 100 acres of land per animal.

Locally, the situation was clear. Mission San Fernando Rancho claimed over 138,000 acres, nearly all being valley lands. Rancho San Francisco, by a general conception of boundaries, included over 100,000 acres and was also claimed by Mission San Fernando which, as of 1832, recorded only 782 Indian converts at the Mission—also 7,000 cattle, 600 horses, and 60 mules.²³

In effect, Government had set up methods for disposal of lands that did not exist—if mission claims were allowed. There could be but one outcome to this clash of interests, between the rapidly increasing population and static holdings of so much for so few. In 1833, the Mexican Congress passed the bill for secularization of the missions. In October, 1834, Lieut. Antonio del Valle was commissioned to take over Mission San Fernando by inventory from the incumbent Padre, Fr. Ybarra.²⁴ He was paid \$800 annually. In March, 1837 "Valle, highly praised by Fr. Duran, was succeeded by Anastasio Carrillo."²⁵

Mission San Fernando was in the Santa Barbara district. Its administrator would therefore pass through the entire length of Rancho San Francisco going to San Fernando. Lieut. del Valle possessed therefore an intimate knowledge of Rancho San Francisco. In 1837, he asked Don Pablo de la Guerra to draw a map (*Diseno*), of the Rancho from verbal description.²⁷

The exact current status of the Rancho is a little clouded. It might possibly be that, as early as 1824, all or possibly only the Camulos portion of Rancho San Francisco was being utilized by the del Valles for grazing purposes under some sort of grant or permission from authority. On the other hand, the report of William Hartnell, auditing the Missions in 1835, might indicate that as the date the Rancho became individually owned.

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Don Antonio del Valle petitioned Governor Alvarado for the Rancho January 22, 1839, the petition was granted with the usual restrictions—that no part could be alienated by gift, mortgage, or other encumbrance. The rancho could be enclosed but no existing rights of way could be closed. Grantee should at once solicit the judge to establish rancho boundaries, to take physical possession of the land, and the judge should advise the government of the number of square leagues granted.

An unsuccessful protest was filed by Fr. Narciso Duran, Prefect of the Missions of the South of the College of San Fernando of Mexico in Alta California as of February 5, 1839. In a further petition of Don Antonio del Valle, April 5, 1839, for grant in property,²⁸ there is definitely claim that his rights dated from about 1825, with further rights as of 1833.

The Mission Asistencia became the first del Valle rancho home, although resentment of the Indians to the grant made it unusable for a short time.²⁹

Don Pedro Lopez, a relative of del Valle's second wife, Jacopa Feliz, assisted del Valle in driving up some 600 head of cattle, mares, and horses from Rancho San Pedro.³⁰ Wheat was planted in the *ciénega* below the house. The family moved into immediate possession and residence.

June 12, 1841, Don Antonio del Valle died, mourned by his widow, two children from his first marriage, and four children from his second marriage. Shortly thereafter, the widow was married to Don José Salazar.

Camulos Rancho was part of Rancho San Francisco grant. Yet it seems always to have been considered locally a separate entity, and was so referred to, always associated only with Don Ygnacio del Valle.³¹ Possibly, as the oldest son, already mature, it was understood that Camulos was to be his portion, even though the estate of Don Antonio was not as yet partitioned. Traditionally, however, it was from the old Asistencia, now the rancho home, that Francisco Lopez and his two friends, Manuel Cota and Domingo Bermudez, left the morning of March 9, 1842, on their way to what became the first authenticated gold discovery of California. Whether the first gold discovery or not, it definitely led to the settlement of the

first mining camp in California, at Placeritas Canyon, near the easterly boundary of the yet unsurveyed Rancho San Francisco.³²

In the Spanish Archives, at Sacramento, California, will be found the following Petition:

To His Excellency the Governor

The Citizens Francisco Lopez, Manuel Cota and Domingo Bermudez, residents of the Port of Santa Barbara, before Your Excellency, with the utmost submission appear saying His Divine Majesty having granted us a Placer of Gold on the ninth day of March last, at the place of San Francisco, appertaining to the late Don Antonio del Valle, distant from his house about one League toward the south, we apply to Your Excellency to be pleased to decree in our favor whatsoever you may deem just and proper forwarding herewith the specimens of said gold.

Wherefore we pray to Your Excellency to be pleased to give us the respective permission to undertake therewith our labors jointly with those who may wish to proceed to said work.

Excuse the use of common paper in default of that on the corresponding stamp.

Santa Barbara April 4th, 1842

Franco Lopez

Manuel Cota

Franco Lopez at the request of
Domingo Bermudez who does not
know how to write.

The foregoing is quoted in extenso because it must represent the first attempt at mining location notice in California.

The archives show no answer to the petition. What happened next is apparent from the following quotation. The discovery site was certainly within the generally accepted limits of the grant. Trespassing quickly became a major problem to the land owners, and Don Ygnacio del Valle petitioned the Ayuntamiento at the Pueblo of Los Angeles for relief which, as shown, was immediately forthcoming.

This court has been informed that they continue to prospect in the gold fields near you, and that, in fact, a number of people are gathering at this place, and in order that this work may proceed in an orderly fashion, I have appointed a magistrate for that place in order to keep

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law and order, and when he is absent, due to business affairs, Mr. Franco Corrella will be in charge in his place.

You will make this decision known to those who are staying there and that your court will be in charge of criminal and judicial cases and this office will handle civil and state affairs in order that we may issue the necessary orders.

You will take especial care that, as soon as this discovery is made, you will notify this office immediately so that we can establish what each one is entitled to and what municipal rights should be established; and if you have already had reason to do this, you will notify us of it also.

As for the sale of liquor and such, which the Community has established, the Laws of the Town will be observed first and be careful to have good reason before infringing upon their jurisdiction.

As for the eight dollars which you collect for entering, and for the time they remain there, in consideration of that, they will be in possession and owe it for pasturing their live stock, for water, firewood and even lumber for temporary shelters. This charge seems just, collected only once.

As this office is aware that there are now Laws to arrange this affair, I will notify the Superiors of this Department and secure information about the method to be used.

You will make known this Deposition to Mr. Sorrella in order that he may acquaint himself with the contents and the duties assigned him.

I hope I will have the honor of your acceptance and compliance with the Orders.

This occasion is presented to me to offer my consideration and appreciation.

God and Liberties.

May 3, 1842

S. Arguello

Senor Ygnacio del Valle

Encargado Justicia

rancho del Mission San Fernando³³

Everything considered, the news got around. Del Valle reported to Prefect Arguello in June "only a few miners were not making a dollar a day—the placers were of great extent—no taxes should yet be imposed—there had been 100 miners—now 50, water short—miners would return with the rains."³⁴ As Mr. Arthur Woodward has pointed out, the Arguello letter is in fact the first Mining Law set up in California.³⁵

The gold dust of the placers went to the United States Mint

largely via the accounts of Don Abel Stearns. No production record of the camp exists. Bancroft says 2,000 ounces of dust had been shipped by the end of 1843. Due somewhat to Indian raids, from the Mojave Indians, in 1844 the mining camp lapsed, subject to later revivals.

In its very early days, the placers were visited by such travellers as Dufлот de Mofras, who states that the original discovery was made by a Frenchman, Charles Baric. G. M. Waseurtz af Sandels, also an 1842 visitor, credits discovery to one Melendez, a Mexican, in his "King's Orphan." John Bidwell, writing in 1852, gives discovery credit to Baptiste Ruelle. In 1898, the Bandini History of California, a school text book, names Juan Lopez as discoverer.^{56, 37}

The San Feliciano placer field of 1843 was outside the Rancho boundaries. Discovery is attributed also to Francisco Lopez, the best luck there to José Salazar, soon to be second husband of Jacopa Feliz, who was supposed to have placered \$4,300 in one year.

In 1843, the title of Camulos was momentarily clouded by a grant to Pedro Carrillo, but examination showing the overlap on the Rancho San Francisco Grant, the Carrillo grant was nullified.³¹

There is today a plaque on Highway 6, calling attention to Fremont Pass, giving an erroneous impression that the deep Beale Cut through the hills was it. The Fremont expedition did come through the Rancho, encamping near the del Valle rancho home January 9, 1847. The night of the tenth, they were still on the Rancho, camped approximately at the site of Lyons Station to be. On the eleventh, part of the expedition took a direct route over the hills, the artillery and wagons seem to have utilized the Cuesta Viejo, or Grapevine Canyon.³⁹

The expedition must have resembled a circus parade, coming through the cattle range with its 429 participants, and don't forget the wagons and cannon which had to be let down the steep southern slope with ropes. What a road that was—is. One writer mentions stopping for a night at San Fernando Mission and then spending eight days getting army carts and goods over the mountains.⁴⁰

Three years later, an exaggeratedly contrasting party of foot-sore pioneers stumbled out of the mouth of Soledad Canyon. It was the "Jayhawker" party, what was left of them, ending their tragic

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trek by way of Death Valley, to the gold fields. Their later descriptions of Rancho San Francisco were slightly on the florid side, understandable, considering the country through which they had come. The party convalesced for a few days in the old adobe milk house, which stood on the slope, slightly above the *cienea* and below the rancho house, Asistencia. Until World War Two Jayhawkers, and later their descendants, picnicked annually in that *cienea*.⁴²

The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo under terms of which California passed into the possession of the United States by purchase went into effect February 2, 1848. It naturally provided for continuity and protection of existing land titles. To bring this condition about, Congress passed a Federal Land Act in 1851, under which commissioners were appointed with authority to review California's private land titles. Three years was allowed for Californians to comply.

The Rancho was only a cattle range, accurately speaking. Its isolation seemed to insure protection as such. There was nothing to encourage trespassing. "La Soledad" was an appropriate name for the easterly end of the grant. It is dubious whether a person a day travelled either of the old rights of way, the north-south road to the Tulares, or the east-west take off between Missions. At that time, all of the owners were living in the Pueblo.⁴³

That was a horrible trail through the Grapevine Canyon to the San Fernando Valley. The road was nearly as bad through San Francisquito Canyon. Westerly, the road to San Buenaventura merely substituted soft sand and river crossings for rocks and grades. The only wheeled vehicle was the springless wood disc wheeled *carreta*, pulled by oxen.

Los Angeles County, which included most of Southern California at that date, had a population of 3,550.⁴⁴ The local cash crop was still hides, worth a dollar or so apiece in trade. The curtain was about to rise against a brand new back drop. The fabulous mining boom of '49 was under way in the north. There was a ready market for beef at \$15.00 per head. You walked the beef 400 miles, a bagatelle to a Californian *vaquero* to whom time was of no importance.

In 1851, the Los Angeles Court of Sessions detailed the "Tulare

Road to the Mines by the Tulares," by way of ex-Mission San Fernando, Rancho San Francisco, the Cañada of Alamos, (San Francisquito), Rabbit Lake (Elizabeth Lake) and on; also "El Camino Real," (existing roads between Missions). Those rights of way had been withheld in the original grant.

There was unlimited money and business available in the mining camps and cities of the north. There were pioneer merchants in the sleepy Pueblo, fully conversant with the possibilities developing, accustomed to surmounting handicaps, who intended to get their full share of whatever development might take place elsewhere. Lack of a road could not stop them.

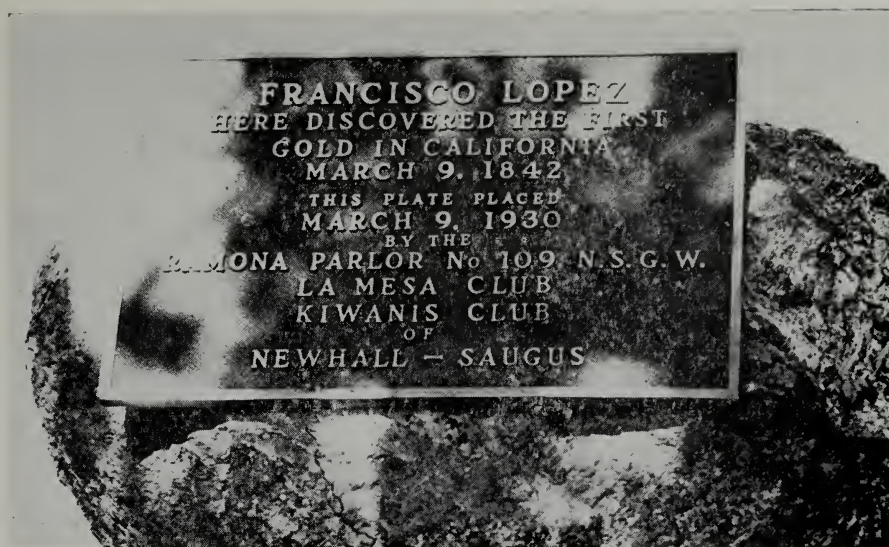
The records of the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors, in those formative days show more appropriations, subscriptions, and resultant expenditures to get a passable road to and through Rancho San Francisco northerly, than all of the other county roads combined. That road was going where the big money was. It had a terrific impact on the Pueblo, a greater impact on the Rancho.

The first three cases filed in the very new Probate Court of the very new Los Angeles County, U.S.A., were filed for Jacopa Feliz, commencement of many legal actions to settle the estate of the late Antonio del Valle, and perfect the title of Rancho San Francisco, under the new governing laws, that that property might also be partitioned to the heirs.⁴⁵

The interested parties were all living in the pueblo. Don Ygnacio del Valle, of Camulos rancho, had just been elected County Recorder. He was living in the home of Don Agustin Olvera. The Salazars were living in their own home.⁴⁶

In 1852, the federal machinery was set up for confirmation of the Mexican land titles. In September, Jacopa Feliz, as widow, Ygnacio del Valle, and the other children of the second family of Don Antonio, petitioned for confirmation of title to Rancho San Francisco.⁴⁷ Earlier in the year, Don José Salazar had been appointed administrator of the del Valle Estate by the Probate Court.⁴⁸ One can wonder if there would have been a different outcome, had Don Ygnacio received that appointment.

The probate petition was granted and the estate distributed by undivided portions of the rancho to the heirs. Ygnacio del Valle



—From the Author's Collection

THE PLAQUES AT PLACERITAS

*Both plaques were stolen and the Lopez plaque came back.
The other plaque is still missing.*



—From the Author's Collection



—Photo from the Author's Collection

OLD ADOBE MILK HOUSE

An ill-fated party of "Jayhawkers," known as the Manly Party, recuperated here after a hazardous trek across Death Valley.

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purchased his sister Magdalena's share for some \$6,000.00.⁴⁹ The land could not be partitioned before title confirmation. It was simply a chunk of wild land without boundaries pinned down only by the silver ribbon of the Santa Clara River.

The original boundary line of Los Angeles County traversed the northerly boundaries of the Rancho.⁵⁰ Later county readjustments left about 11,000 acres, including the Camulos Rancho in that part of Santa Barbara County later to become Ventura County.⁵¹ The westerly boundary was common to Rancho Sespe at Piru Creek. Thence the line ran easterly over the hilltops to "la Puerca," a very narrow gap between cliffs as the foot of the grade is reached, going north, separating the cattle of Mission San Fernando Rancho from those of Rancho San Francisco. On the east there was the Indian village of Tobinga. No near neighbors to the north.

In 1853, the Pacific Railroad Survey came down San Francisco Canyon, climbed back to the divide, and mapped a new route through Williamson's Pass, today called Soledad Canyon.⁵³ It seemed easier of travel than the older road and later became the more popular—or least worst—of the known routes. This year, Ygnacio del Valle was serving on the first School Committee of the Los Angeles City Council.

Eighteen hundred fifty-four was a big year for Rancho San Francisco, that is, for the eastern border. In August, Ft. Tejon was established. Merchants of Los Angeles, who were sending wagon trains to Arizona, Utah, and faraway Idaho, were not missing this new back door market. Within two months a road district, from Los Feliz rancho to San Francisco rancho was formed. The County Board of Supervisors appropriated another \$1,000 to improve that terrible wagon road between Mission San Fernando and Rancho San Francisco.⁵⁴

The Kern River gold rush really started traffic over the old road to the Tulares. One Francisco Garcia was credited with a season's placer recovery at San Feliciana of \$65,000. That included a \$1,900 nugget from San Feliciana.⁵⁵ An inland stage line was started from Los Angeles to Kern County mines. Somewhere about this time, the Stage Station, later to be called "Lyons Station," came into existence.⁵⁶ Major Horace Bell's account of the first stage run over

the San Fernando mountains to Rancho San Francisco has been reprinted many, many times. Yet, it is contemporaneous, certainly self explanatory. He says,

Banning willed the thing to be done . . . and drove the first stage to astonish the aborigines . . . the trail over San Fernando Pass was a rocky acclivity . . . difficult even by a pack mule . . . with a descent of equal abruptness.

Standing on the summit . . . a precipice of many hundred feet lay before you . . . facing about dizzily you wonder how you reached the rocky summit.

In December, '54, he sat on the box of his Concord Stage . . . reaching the summit . . . the question among his nine wondering passengers who had toiled up the mountain on foot was, how the Stage could descend . . .

He cracks his whip, tightens his lines, whistles to his trembling mustangs, urges them to the brink of the precipice and they are going down!!! racketty, clatter, bang. Sometimes the horses ahead of the stage and sometimes the stage ahead of the horses all, however, going down, down, with a CRASH.

Finally the conglomeration of chains, harness, coach, mustangs and Banning were found in an inextricable mass of confusion—contusions, cracks and breaks . . . piled in a thicket of chaparral at the foot of the mountain.

"Didn't I tell you?" said Banning, "a beautiful descent, far less difficult than I had anticipated."

However, Banning sent back a courier in hot haste, urging Don David Alexander to send fifty men immediately to repair parts of the road which he had, in his descent, knocked out of joint.⁵⁷

This marks the arrival of the first stage at Rancho San Francisco. Honestly now, didn't Major Bell have a wonderful control of words? Those old tracks, up precipitous faces of solid rock are so obviously impossible to travel, when viewed today, one can hardly believe the Butterfield and Telegraph Stages could have used that road—but they did.

As described, the road could seemingly not have attracted any but the most urgent traffic, urgency meaning profitable. There is no count of the wagons that tipped and dumped their loads down those steep hillsides. Rumors have even come down that a wooden barrel of flour is tough to salvage from a canyon bed.

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In 1856, the earthquake flattened Ft. Tejon. Its need as a fort had largely passed, and the new Kern River mining camps were an acceptable substitute for the Tejon trade.

A circus tinge broke the monotony of the road to the Tulares traffic the following year, when E. F. Beale began driving his camel tandem drawn buggy from Tejon to Los Angeles. This may have been the year when Francisco Lopez, credited with the gold discoveries at both Placeritas and San Feliciano, now a stockman, told pioneers W. W. Jenkins, W. C. Wiley and Sanford Lyon of the Pico Canyon oil seepages.

Kern River, or San Joaquin Valley trade was of major importance to Los Angeles. With all the money and labor so far expended, the pass was still a cork in a transportation bottleneck, a role that it would play for better than another half century. In 1858, recognizing the importance to the Pueblo of the problem, the County Board of Supervisors put out \$5,000 in County warrants for road improvements by and through Rancho San Francisco.⁵⁸ This was the year that the Butterfield Overland Mail first operated. It carried one passenger, Waterman L. Ormsby, correspondent for the New York *Herald*.

The following quotation from his articles takes the reader from San Fernando Mission through to Rancho San Francisco.

The road leading through the new pass is rugged and difficult. About the center of the pass is, I believe, the steepest hill on the entire route. I should judge it to be 500 feet from the level of the road, which has to be ascended and descended in the space of a quarter of a mile; . . . certainly it is a very steep hill and our six horses found great difficulty in drawing our empty wagon up.

The road takes some pretty sharp turns in the canyon and a slight accident might precipitate a wagon load into a very uncomfortable abyss . . .

Eight miles from San Fernando (Mission) we changed horses again at Hart's rancho, having made nearly ten miles per hour in spite of the bad condition of the roads . . . from this point the road leads through San Francisco Canyon, 12 miles long.⁵⁹

Staging was important, before railroads came. Stage lines are dependent upon livestock and wagons. They could not keep run-

ning without stations at rather short intervals. That explains Lyon Station, probably the first white settlement in the area. It was on the Rancho, at today's junction of Highway 6 and San Fernando road, south of Newhall. It was probably opened by Henry Wiley and Jose Ygnacio del Valle in the early Fifties. Its name changed as did the Station keepers. In 1855 Cyrus and Sanford Lyon ran the Station. In 1858 it was called "Harts," afterwards "Hosmers." In 1861 it was "Fountains." Andrews Krazinsky may have bought the 380 acre property from the Philadelphia & California Petroleum Company in the Seventies.⁶⁰ The Station was then known as "Andrews," though operated by Adams Malejewski. He was succeeded by George Dilly who moved the Station down closer to the railroad right of way.

In the Fifties, there was another Stage Station on the Rancho, known as "More's Station," located about where San Francisquito Canyon empties into the Santa Clara River. Later, More went up to the active mining camp at San Francisquito, and the Station was then known as "Hollandsville" in 1860. It was the scene of a small slaughter when three Mexicans attacked the Station killing two men.⁶¹

They were regular stops for the California, later the Telegraph stage lines, for the Butterfield stages, while they ran. Stage schedules showed Lyons Station 8.79 miles from Lopez Station, sometimes called "25 mile," or "Mission San Fernando." It was a junction point for passenger transfer for the stage lines coming down from Santa Barbara and Ventura.⁶²

In 1858, Surveyor Henry Hancock ran the patent survey of Rancho San Francisco. The original description, from the grant of Governor Alvarado, commencing with the junction of a creek called the Arroyo of Piro or Piraic with the Santa Clara River, thence ascending the said river, including the valley on both sides thereof, up to and including a place called "La Soledad" was rather generalized and could be interpreted as granting over 100,000 acres, in contravention of the Mexican Land Laws governing, which limited grants to eleven square leagues.

As was the custom, the grantees chose their desired areas, which the surveyor trimmed to fit the laws and stay within the

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limits there imposed. As of May 10, José Salazar borrowed \$8,500 from William Wolfskill at $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent per month interest, payable quarterly or to be compounded, pledging six of the grant's eleven leagues, in Los Angeles County.⁶³

Californians were in a bad position. Under the new (to them) United States laws, they had to hire attorneys to perfect their land titles, present the case, handle the appeal, pay for surveys, and incidentally to probate an estate. Except for the short time during the Gold Rush of '49, when cattle sold for \$15.00 a head, in the north, Californians seldom had cash. The country had been sparsely settled with a "beef and barter" economy. The influx of United States citizens upset local customs and local laws. One is reminded of the fate of the prior land holders, the Indians and the Missions. Camulos continued a pastoral existence contrasting positively with that area traversed by the road to the mines.

In 1859, mining activities beyond the grant borders continued building up, meaning more people passing on the road, or, "traffic." Inside the Rancho San Francisco, conditions were not good. Some "50 valuable horses belonging to Don José Salazar" were stolen by Indians. Salazar evidently felt the pinch, for the mortgaged Jacopa Feliz equities in the Rancho were deeded to Ygnacio del Valle, consideration \$1,000.

In 1860, Salazar was again borrowing and mortgaging the properties already mortgaged and deeded. The Rancho Survey of Henry Hancock was approved, however, issuance of patent was not requested.⁶⁴

Ygnacio del Valle was appointed Judge of the Plains for San Francisquito.⁶⁵ A new turnpike road from San Fernando to the Santa Clara River was authorized, but never built. The telegraph line coming down from San Francisco, built past Fountains Station.

In 1861, Don Ygnacio del Valle moved to Camulos, there to stay.⁶⁶ For twenty years, no one had been more prominent than he in county life. At Camulos, he would revive and carry on the pastoral life of early California. At this date, he is credited with the ninth largest herd of cattle in Los Angeles County.⁶⁷

In 1862, a 20-year franchise was granted for a turnpike from ex-Mission San Fernando to the Arroyo de Santa Clara, under

which E. F. Beale immediately commenced the deep cut through the crest of the San Fernando mountains.⁶⁸ Don Jose Salazar now quit-claimed the mortgaged, deeded rancho equities of his wife again, this time to a couple of Los Angeles lawyers.⁶⁹ Wolfskill's mortgage, plus the interest of 1½% monthly, compounded quarterly, underwent foreclosure, and he received a sheriff's deed in September for the undivided six leagues of Rancho San Francisco in Los Angeles County.⁷⁰

The next year, Beale's cut being completed, the County Supervisors set the allowable charges⁷¹—they were:

Teams of 12 or 10 horses	2.00
" 8 "	1.75
" 6 "	1.50
" 4 "	1.25
" 2 "	1.00
horse and wagon	.50
horse and man	.25
loose animals, cattle	.10
sheep	.03
pack animals	.25

The toll house was opening just in time for the Soledad mining boom just coming into prominence. On the Rancho, Wolfskill's attorneys were again suing for foreclosure. In 1864 a second sheriff's deed was issued to Wolfskill.⁷²

Something else was happening just over the southerly line of Rancho San Francisco. In 1865, Ramon Perea filled his canteen with the liquid from certain seepages in Pico Canyon. Perea rode over to San Fernando, where Dr. Vincent Gelcich identified the canteen's contents as oil.⁷³ The discovery, which it certainly was not, such seepages being known to, and utilized by local Indians from time immemorial was not within the rancho lines, but a mile or so out.

Commencing in 1865, deeds to undivided portions of Rancho San Francisco appear in the records from the various heirs of Antonio del Valle in favor of Ygnacio del Valle, incidentally including the Wolfskill equities, culminating in a deed from Ygnacio del Valle to Thomas R. Bard, as of March 18 of the Rancho San

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Francisco lands in the County of Los Angeles. Consideration was \$47,519.71.⁷⁴ These lands immediately passed to the ownership of the Philadelphia & California Petroleum Company, in other words to Thomas Scott.⁷⁵

It will be recalled that Rancho San Francisco was a Mexican land grant under Mexican laws and could not exceed eleven square leagues. The Hancock Survey of 1858 was just under that limit and was satisfactory to both the United States Government and the land owners. Title had been confirmed, but patent not yet issued. Oil having been found just over rancho borders, the Scott interests brought in another surveyor who did right well, turning in a survey that included 102,025 acres. Peculiarly, the new oil prospects were included therein.⁷⁶

This second survey was based on the theory that Mexican grants, having been made and described by landmarks, said landmarks must govern the boundaries, regardless of amounts of included acreage or governing Laws. The Scott interests filed suit to set aside the Hancock survey, and substitute therefore the George H. Thompson survey of 1865.⁷⁷

In 1866, mortgage was drawn to a trustee, securing a bond issue, on the Philadelphia & California Petroleum Company, covering an undivided 13/15 of Rancho San Francisco lands within Los Angeles County for \$25,000.⁷⁸

Aroundabout, the oil seepages of Wiley Canyon were being skimmed, and the oil salvaged shipped to the Metropolitan Gas Works, in San Francisco. The Havilah stage was running on the road to the Tulares.⁷⁹ As usual, a subscription was being taken up in Los Angeles to improve the Rancho roads, this time with accent on San Francisquito Canyon, the Beale toll road having finally unplugged the pass.⁸⁰

No picture of Lyons Station is known, a contemporary description tells of a well constructed frame building, 30' x 60', answering the purpose of a store, postoffice, telegraph office, depot and tavern. There was also a large stable and a cottage half hidden in the mountain oak. The site is marked today only by the old graveyard. The Handbook & Directory of 1868 lists 20 heads of families at

Lyons Station; at Soledad mining camp, 60 were listed, at Placeritas, eight.⁸¹

Sanford Lyon is credited with "spring poling" an oil well at the site of the future CSO No. 4 well, in Pico.⁸²

In 1869, the Soledad School District, which included Rancho San Francisco, was formally separated from the San Fernando school district.⁸³ The following year, Rancho San Francisco was finally partitioned by one L. F. Cooper, to facilitate apparently financing of Scott's Oil Company, who were issuing another \$50,000 of bonds under trust indenture.⁸⁴

Scott interests claimed an undivided 19/21 of the Rancho interests by purchase, having acquired all but those of Don Ygnacio del Valle, who continued placidly and profitably operating Camulos rancho, regardless of litigation, mining, petroleum, or the new ideas being brought into California life.

The undivided 2/21, carried with it Camulos, legally, formally, and unencumbered. Its 1,340 acres were permanently separated and divorced from the troubled background of the grant.

The partition went into effect July 30, over the signature of Pablo de la Guerra, then district judge.⁸⁵ It will be recalled that the first *Diseno* or map of the Rancho had been drawn by Judge de la Guerra in 1837.

Political pressure having been unsuccessfully applied, Scott, Parsons and Bard, all interested parties and individually very influential within their respective orbits, finally gave up hope of getting the Thompson survey accepted, and in 1872 withdrew their protest. They accepted a new Thompson survey based entirely upon the Hancock survey, and the grant finally went to patent February 12, 1875.⁸⁶

In the latter part of 1873, there was a trustee's foreclosure under the bond indenture, and sheriff's deed issued in favor of Charles Fernald and Jarrett T. Richards, Santa Barbara lawyers who later appear as attorneys for Henry M. Newhall and, incidentally, Ygnacio del Valle.⁸⁷

As early as May, the following advertisement was appearing in the Ventura paper:

Rancho San Francisco

RANCHO SAN FRANCISCO

Contains 48,000 acres and is situate on the river Santa Clara. The lines of the Southern Pacific and the Atlantic and Pacific Railroads are surveyed through portions of this rancho. It contains a large quantity of

ARABLE BOTTOM LANDS

Is well watered and timbered, on the line of travel between Los Angeles and the Cerro Gordo and other interior mining districts and is a first rate property for colonists and small farmers.

Prices of Arable land \$6.00 to \$12.00

per acre

Real Estate Agent

Thomas R. Bard⁸⁸

Hueneme, Ventura, California⁸⁹

Roundabout the rancho, the chief current items of interest would be the revival of San Feliciano mining camp.⁹⁰ A weekly stage line from Los Angeles to the new Panamint Mining District was inaugurated via San Francisquito Canyon.⁹¹ By 1874, it could be truly said that the birth of the petroleum industry of the West was taking place just south of the rancho lines and also to the west.

Remi Nadeau was back freighting from railhead at San Fernando to the Cerro Gordo mines. The Vasquez gang held up the stage in Soledad Canyon.⁹² Soledad mining camp was practically inactive, but about the old mining district, settlers were homesteading and farming. The Telegraph stageline was running from Caliente railhead to San Fernando railhead over the old road. The Lyons Station stage line was running from Ventura. The first post-office on the Rancho was opened at Lyons Station.⁹³

It didn't stay long. Within the year it was moved to a new location closer to the railroad right of way, and the postoffice name changed to "Andrews Station" in June.⁹⁴ The following month, construction of the Newhall railroad tunnel was begun, length to be 6,940 feet, for passage of the approaching railroad tracks. The first oil refinery was built at old Lyon Station.⁹⁵

T. A. Bard's newspaper advertisements paid off when Rancho San Francisco was deeded to Henry M. Newhall, consideration \$90,000, January 15, 1875.⁹⁶

What a difference a railroad could make, for that matter, even a road. Here, at the easterly end of old Rancho San Francisco tied

to the world of that day by the road to the Tulares everything happens. In 1876, a new townsite known as "Newhall" is opened on the railroad lines, but it was located at the site of today's "Saugus."⁹⁷

The town lots at the Saugus site failed to sell. Every time there was a prospective buyer, there was a sand storm. A two-year losing struggle of the Pacific Improvement Company ended when George Campton picked up his store and moved it about three miles south, to the new Newhall. The railroad station was opened with John T. Gifford acting as agent. The cave-ins and the explosions which marked the tunnel construction ended. There was a rumor that Mr. H. M. Newhall was projecting a big hotel, a store, and that the brush-covered acres of the river bed would be cleared, plowed, planted for miles. The new town already had six buildings, brought from the old Saugus site.⁹⁸

At the westerly end of the rancho, at Camulos, the pastoral life prevailed. There was a change. Sheep had been added, for Ygnacio del Valle shipped six bales of wool from the Ventura wharf.⁹⁹ There was a stage running past nearly every day, but "the road between Ventura and Newhall is the worst neglected piece of road in the State."¹⁰⁰

What does one do with a stage station, when the stages go away?

HOTEL AT LYONS STATION

The undersigned has opened a fine and commodious hotel at Lyon's Station, about a half mile from the Railroad, where he can accommodate guests in the most satisfactory style.

CONVEYANCES

belonging to the Hotel will always be in waiting at the cars.

The location is one of the most picturesque and healthiest in Southern California and there is good hunting in the immediate vicinity.

Prices very moderate.

George R. Dilly¹⁰¹

Thus passed another landmark.

The Ventura stage was robbed, three miles out of Newhall.¹⁰² A. P. More, as a stockholder, in the Philadelphia & California Petroleum Co., sued both Bard and Newhall, on the foreclosure of the Rancho liens.¹⁰³ The Star Oil Works started an oil refinery at An-

Rancho San Francisco

draws Station.¹⁰⁴ Ten Chinamen with rockers head in to San Francisco.¹⁰⁵ Driving of the Golden Spike at Lang completes the railroad.¹⁰⁶ Newhall Elementary School District was organized,¹⁰⁷ a 10 x 12 board and batt structure on the grant, just south of the junction of Pico Road and Highway 99, on site loaned by Sanford Lyon. The oil fields of Pico began their development under D. G. Schofield and Alec Mentry, heading the California Star Oil Company and the Pacific Coast Oil Company. All this, and a townsite too. The following year, the Southern Pacific depot, the George Campton mercantile store, some four other small buildings, and the name even, were picked up, loaded, moved three miles southerly to the new and final location of the town of Newhall.¹⁰⁸

At the other end of the grant, Ygnacio del Valle lived the life of a successful gentleman, surrounded by his beautiful orchards, his prosperous productive vineyard, groves of eucalyptus and gardens, his usual crops of corn, barley, wheat. In one year, his vineyard produced 40,000 gallons of wine and brandy.¹⁰⁹

Since 1804, Rancho San Francisco had dominated the upper Santa Clara valley. It would no more. Even its identity had been lost. By the irony of fate, Camulos rancho would live as such in song, story and fact, but Rancho San Francisco would henceforth be known only as the "Newhall Rancho."

NOTES

1. Crespi's Diary is reprinted in *Palou's New California* by Bolton, Berkeley, 1926. Diaries of Portola and Costanso are reprinted in Vol. 2. *Pubs. of the Academy of Pacific Coast History*, Univ. of Calif. Press, 1909-10.
2. Crespi's Diary, *Palou's New California* by Bolton, Berkeley, 1926. Vol. 2, page 141.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, page 311.
5. *Ibid.*, Vol. 3, page 233; Vol. 4 page 331.
6. *On the Trail of a Spanish Pioneer* by Elliott Coues, Vol. 1, page 264.
7. *San Fernando Rey*, Fr. Engelhardt OFM, pages 7-9, *Franciscan Press Herald*, Chicago, 1927.
8. *Ibid.*, page 20.
9. *Ibid.*, page 16.
10. A Dig at the site in 1935, indicated five rooms, those for storage and dormitory use having whitewash interior. The living quarters had tiled floor, and whitewash walls. Roof was of Mission tile, burned at kiln easterly end of rear building. This rear adobe structure, parallelling the larger front building, apparently divided into small rooms for trades, cobbler, smith, sempstress, etc. There was little recovery from the dig, which was abandoned after vandals ruined the tile floors and remaining adobe walls searching for Mission treasure about 1937. The buildings stood on the high mesa overlooking Castaic Junction.
11. "San Fernando Rey," page 19.
12. Letter of Dr. John P. Harrington, Senior Ethnologist, Smithsonian.

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13. *Letters on the Indians*, by Hugo Reid, 16 to 22.
14. Storage was in "Bowers Cave" in San Martinez Chiquito, named for Stephen Bowers, early day California scientist. In 1884 he sold some 38 specimens of local basketry, feather work, musical instruments, etc., to Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, at Harvard University, where they are today.
15. "San Fernando Rey," page 20.
16. "Taburga" or "Tobinga" is named as Indian Village approximately on easterly boundary line of the Rancho in depositions in Expediente Rancho San Francisco, Case 318, National Archives. To date, have not been able to locate site.
17. "San Fernando Rey," page 40.
18. *Ibid.*
19. *Ibid.*, page 41.
20. *Ibid.*
21. *Ibid.*, page 28.
22. *Mining Camps*, Charles Howard Shinn, pages 61-63. New York, 1947.
23. "San Fernando Rey," page 102.
24. *Ibid.*, page 50.
25. Bancroft's *Works*, Vol. 20, page 648.
26. Antonio del Valle came to California from Dept. of Jalisco, Mexico, as Lieut. in Company of San Blas, 1819. Family wealthy. In 1824, made profitable trading with Indians at San Emilio to about \$14,000 in gold (Bancroft, Vol. 25, p. 38). Served in many civil and military posts. Appointed Administrator Mission San Fernando 1835. Commandante at Santa Barbara Presidio 1838. Married, for second time, Jacopa Feliz, by whom five children. Ygnacio and sister Magdalena, by first wife before coming to Calif. Original grantee Rancho San Francisco, 1839. d. 1841.
27. Deposition Don Pablo de la Guerra, Expediente Rancho San Francisco, Case 318, National Archives.
28. Petition of Don Antonio del Valle, April 5, 1839, for "Grant in Property." Spanish Archives in Sacramento. Original in National Archives Expediente of Rancho San Francisco. Many original documents destroyed in San Francisco fire, including the original del Valle petition for grant as of 1838.
29. Deposition Jose Maria Covarrubias, Expediente Case 318.
30. Deposition Don Pedro Lopez, Expediente Rancho San Francisco, Case 318, National Archives.
31. See Thompson & West, *History of Los Angeles County*, reference to Camulos, page 48. Oakland, 1880.
32. "Pre-Marshall Gold in California," by E. T. H. Bunje and James C. Kean, Bancroft Library, Berkeley, Calif., is interesting to students in this field.
33. Bancroft shows Santiago Arguello as Prefect in Los Angeles 1840-1843, and Francisco Sorrellia was a Sonoran who worked in the placers locally and disappeared in the Gold Rush of 1849. Original is in Bancroft Library. This translation by courtesy Miss Lois Phillips of Wm. S. Hart H. S.
34. Bancroft, Vol. 21, page 631.
35. Mr. Woodward was Curator of History at L. A. County Museum for many years.
36. *History of California*, by Helen Elliott Bandini, American Book Co. 1898, page 147.
37. In 1930, Ramona Parlor No. 109, the La Mesa Club and the Kiwanis Club of Newhall-Saugus dedicated a plaque to Francisco Lopez at the discovery site. (His associates' names seem to have been lost off.) A plaque was set on "The Oak of the Golden Dream" which has been stolen.

The site is now a State Historic Park, operated by Los Angeles County. This was dedicated May 26, 1956. One can pleasantly dream under the Oak of the Golden Dream, or picnic in beautiful oak groves. Gold can be panned, but not profitable.

38. Bancroft's *Works*, Vol. 21, page 642.
39. Fremont's "Memoirs" refer to a Pass of San Bernardo, of which there isn't any. Until Mrs. Fanny Vandegrift Sanchez found and translated, in Bancroft's Library, a MS of one Jose E. Garcia of the Californian group assigned to the harassing of Fremont's Expedition, route tracing seemed hopeless.

In Sr. Garcia's words "the next day in the morning we set out (from Sespe, Jan. 8, 1847) for San Fernando Mission . . . we spent the night there. The following day we went as far as the hill of San Francisquito . . . from the top of the hill mentioned we made out Fremont's camp, a very short distance below

Rancho San Francisco

in the valley . . . (future site of Lyons Station). Here, within sight of the enemy, we camped and remained until seven in the evening when we returned to the Mission."

There is but one place on the crest of the hills answering the requirement of visibility of both the Mission and the camp site.

Corresponding entries in Lieut. Bryant's *What I saw in California*, D. Appleton & Co., 1848, pages 387-391 dovetail with Garcia's descriptive entries.

40. "Journal of John McHenry Hollingsworth," p. 50. California Historical Society Quarterly, Vol. 1., No. 3.

41. *Death Valley in '49*, by William Lewis Manly, San Jose, Calif., 1894, pages 175-258. Manly is emerging from the terminal of Soledad Canyon—"There was, before us, a beautiful meadow of a thousand acres (Saugus to Castaic Junction) green as a thick carpet of grass could make it, and shaded with oaks, wide branching and symmetrical, equal to those of an old English Park, while all over the low mountains that bordered it on the south and over the broad acres of luxuriant grass was a herd of cattle numbering many hundreds, if not thousands . . .

"As we went along, a man and woman passed us . . . the woman had no hoops or shoes and a shawl about her neck with one end thrown over her head as a substitute bonnet . . . the man had sandals on his feet, with white cotton pants, a calico shirt, and a wide rimmed conical colored hat . . .

"A house on higher ground soon appeared in sight. It was low, of one story with a flat roof, grey in color, and of a different style of architecture from any we had ever seen before."

The building is, of course, the Asistencia of 1804, repaired and returned to use by Don Antonio del Valle as his rancho home in 1839.

The Jayhawkers, however, convalesced in the milk house, down the slope but above the willows.

42. "Jayhawker" John B. Colton to Mr. E. H. Bailey, Rancho San Francisquito, Surrey P. O. Los Angeles County, Feb. 28, 1903. Letter in possession of Mrs. Bertha Bailey Taylor.

43. *Census of City and County of Los Angeles for the year 1850*, Los Angeles, 1929.

44. *Ibid.*

45. Abstract of Title, California Title Guaranty Company.

46. *Census of City and County of Los Angeles for the year 1850*, Los Angeles, 1929.

47. Abstract of Title, California Title Guaranty Company.

48. *Ibid.*

49. *Ibid.*

50. Chap. 15, *Statutes of California*.

51. County Boundary changes detailed Thompson & West, Oakland, 1880 p. 47.

52. Deposition Antonio Maria Lugo, Case 318 (Rancho San Francisco).

53. *Pacific Railroad Surveys*, Washington 1856, Vol. 5, p. 28-9.

54. Minutes of L. A. County Board of Supervisors, Aug. 11, 1854.

55. *Historical and Biographical Record of Los Angeles and Vicinity*, L. M. Guinn, Chicago, 1901, page 111.

56. The late Mrs. J. T. Gifford once told writer that the stage station was opened by Henry Wiley, son-in-law of Andres Pico, and Jose Ygnacio del Valle, a younger step-brother of Ygnacio del Valle, in very early Fifties.

57. *Reminiscences of a Ranger*, by Major Horace Bell, p. 322-4, Los Angeles 1881.

58. Minutes of L. A. County Board of Supervisors, Aug. 4, 1858.

59. *The Butterfield Overland Mail*, San Marino, Calif. 1954.

60. The Kraezinsky equity apparently was extinguished by the mortgage foreclosure of the California & Philadelphia Petroleum Co., 1873.

61. *Los Angeles Star*, Sept. 15, 1860.

62. *Ibid.*, Jan. 5, 1861.

63. Abstract of Title, California Title Guaranty Co.

64. *Los Angeles Star*, September 1, 1860.

65. *Ibid.*, February 25, 1860.

66. *Ibid.*, April 20, 1861.

Ygnacio del Valle joined his father in California in 1825. In 1828 entered military service on the staff of Gen. Echeandia. Was captain and chief custom house officer at San Diego until 1833. Served at Monterey until 1836. Tried to stay out of the Castro. Alvarado, Gutierrez embroglio, not too successful although he had separated from the military, so to do. Discharged from Army 1840. With Jose Antonio Aguirre, received grant of the 97,000 acre Tejon rancho in 1843.

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Among his many civic and military services, was Commandante in secularization of the missions in 1834. In 1843, was *Juez*, or Judge at mining district of San Francisquito. In 1845 member of the *Junta*. In 1846 served as treasurer of department until U. S. took over. In 1850 served as *Alcalde* of the Pueblo. At the first election under new laws, was elected County Recorder. Served as assemblyman in 1852 and 1856. He was a man of education and ability, very successful. In connection with his inheritance, Camulos rancho, he successfully battled and defeated such men as Tom Scott, H. M. Newhall.

The foregoing is gathered from many sources, (H. D. Barrows, Hist. Soc. *Annual* 1899, etc.) As the background of *Ramona*, Camulos may have been the best known rancho of California.


67. *Illustrated History*, Lewis Publishing Co., p. 93.
68. *Statutes of California*, Chap. CCLIX.
69. Abstract of Title, California Title Guaranty Co.
70. *Ibid.*
71. Minutes L. A. County Board of Supervisors, April 4, 1863.
72. Abstract of Title, California Title Guaranty Co.
73. Son-in-law Andres Pico, Ex-Army contract surgeon. In all contemporary writings.
74. Abstract of Title, California Title Guaranty Co.
75. *Ibid.* This was the Thomas Scott who served as Assistant Secretary of War in the Civil War. With Andrew Carnegie, he made a fortune in Pennsylvania oil. Headed the Pennsylvania R.R., also the Texas & Pacific.
76. *Frauds in Surveys of Mexican Grants*, James F. Stuart, Washington, 1872.
77. *Ibid.*
78. Abstract of Title, California Title Guaranty Co.
79. *Los Angeles News*, August 11, 1868.
80. *Ibid.*, August 25, 1868.
81. *Handbook & Directory* of San Luis Obispo, Santa Barbara, Ventura, Kern, San Bernardino, Los Angeles and San Diego Counties, L. L. Paulson, Publisher, 1868.
82. *Black Bonanza*, by Earl M. Welty and Frank J. Taylor, New York, 1950.
83. Records of Los Angeles County Board of Education.
84. Abstract of Title, California Title Guaranty, Co., p. 57-58.
85. *Ibid.*
86. *Frauds in Surveys of Mexican Grants*.
87. Abstract of Title, California Title Guaranty Co., p. 59.
88. *Ventura Signal*, May 10, 1873.
89. T. R. Bard, was, to Ventura County, what such pioneers as Phineas Banning or D. W. Alexander or Don Abel Stearns were to Los Angeles County. Nephew of Tom Scott, represented Scott interests in California. Co-founder of Union Oil Company, pioneer stock man, a United States Senator, promotor of Hueneme harbor.
90. *Ventura Signal*, May, 1872.
91. *Ibid.*, Nov. 24, 1874.
92. *Ibid.*, Feb. 27, 1874.
93. Postoffice Department *Archives*.
94. *Ibid.*
95. *Los Angeles Daily Herald*, Jan. 1, 1876.
96. Abstract of Title, California Title Guaranty Co., p. 63-64.
97. Site deeded by Henry M. Newhall to the Western Improvement Co., Oct. 16, 1876. S. P. R. R. station opened by John T. Gifford as agent.
98. L. A. County Surveyors Office Records, 1878.
99. *Ventura Weekly Free Press*, Dec. 25, 1875.
100. *Ibid.*
101. *Los Angeles Express*, March 21, 1877.
102. *Ventura Weekly Free Press*, Jan. 27, 1877.
103. *Ibid.*, Jan. 25, 1877.
104. *Ibid.*, May 26, 1877.
105. *Ibid.*, April 11, 1877.
106. *Los Angeles Express*.
107. Records Los Angeles County Board of Education, informant, the late Addi Lyon.
108. Feb. 5, 1878, the name was formally transferred to present Newhall site.
109. *Ventura Weekly Free Press*, February 17, 1878.

The Carrillos of San Diego . . .

A Historic Spanish Family of California

By Brian McGinty

(Continued from The March QUARTERLY)

HE SPANISH AND MEXICAN PERIODS IN CALIFORNIA were notable for their profusion of aristocratic grandee families, large but closely knit groups that brought to the rugged wilderness regions of western America the polished traditions of old Castille. The names of these families ring with the melodious tones of sun-drenched Spain—Alvarado, Argüello, De la Guerra, Pico, Pacheco, Sepulveda, Vallejo. Theirs was a simple but abundant life, graced by rock-dashed waves at the ocean's edge, cattle-covered hillsides stretching to the distant horizon, and the radiant warmth of the California sun.

Among the most notable of these early California families were the Carrillos, heirs to a long Spanish and Mexican tradition of achievement and valor. They came to California in the persons of two individuals, both from Baja California, but of unknown relationship to one another. The first of these men, José Raimundo Carrillo, came in 1769 as part of the expedition of Don Gaspar de Portolá, and settled in the pueblo of Los Angeles. The second, Joaquin Victor Carrillo, came to California in about 1800 and settled in the shadows of the first-established of the Franciscan missions, San Diego de Alcalá.

Joaquin and his wife, María Ignacia Lopez, made their home in San Diego for over thirty years. Here, their five sons and seven daughters were born—sons and daughters that, in succeeding years,

were to take active and significant roles in Californian affairs. And it was in San Diego, in about 1836, that Don Joaquin Victor, California-founder of his branch of the Carrillo family, died and was buried.

The members of this family are referred to as "The Carrillos of San Diego." Yet, in spite of their early connection with the cradle-city of Spanish California, they were by no means confined to that locality. Carrillos played important roles in California's history along the whole length of *El Camino Real*. From San Diego, starting point of "The Royal Highway," they moved northward almost to the doorstep of the Russian settlement at Fort Ross, some forty miles north of *El Camino's* northern terminus, Mission San Francisco Solano de Sonoma. All along the road, living and working in the grand Californian way, they left indelible imprints on the heritage of the Golden State.

* * *

PART III

Ramona Carrillo



HE SECOND DAUGHTER OF JOAQUIN and María Ignacia Carrillo was Ramona, born at the *Casa de Carrillo* in San Diego in 1811 or 1812.

There was gayety and excitement in San Diego in the spring of 1827. Guests were arriving from far and near and preparations being made for one of early California's most festive wedding celebrations. Agustín Zamorano, future Governor of California, had arrived in this southern city to marry his chosen bride, the lovely Señorita Luisa Argüello, in a grand, double ceremony with Señorita Ramona Carrillo and her chosen groom, the dashing Romualdo Pacheco. Once the ceremony had been performed, guests assembled from all around for celebrations at the *Casa de Carrillo*. A grand ball and fiesta were held, with the bells of the mission church ringing the glad news of their marriage to the surrounding countryside. In front of their house, the Carrillos arranged their guests in the form of an elaborate procession. Graced by a military escort, the



—Matie D. Brown Collection

FRANCISCA BENICIA CARRILLO
DE VALLEJO



—Matie D. Brown Collection

GENERAL MARIANO GUADALUPE
VALLEJO



—Brian McGinty Collection

MARIA DE LA LUZ CARRILLO
DE VALLEJO



—Brian McGinty Collection

CAPTAIN JOSE MANUEL SALVADOR
DEL MUNDO VALLEJO

The Carrillos of San Diego

party was head by Governor José Echeandía, and almost all of San Diego formed its train. Joined by Pacheco, Zamorano, and their respective brides, the entire gathering departed for the capital at Monterey. Visiting the ranchos and cloistered missions that dotted the peaceful countryside, they brought the gayety of their wedding celebration to all of California.¹

Returned from their wedding trek, Ramona Carrillo de Pacheco and her husband made their home in Santa Barbara, occupying the historic adobe that in later years was to be known as the "Carrillo House" of Santa Barbara.² Two sons were born to the couple here, Mariano and Romualdo, the latter destined one day to be Governor of California.

Manuel Victoria had come to California in 1830, appointed governor by Mexico's President Anastasio Bustamante. Arriving from Mexico City, he took office in Monterey on March 8, 1830. Acquainted only with military methods and arbitrary by nature, Victoria's rule soon aroused widespread opposition. Californians, independent to the extreme, rebelled at even the smell of imperialism. By the end of 1830, revolt was brewing in Los Angeles and San Diego.³

Warned of trouble, Victoria started south to meet his foes alone. At Santa Barbara, he found a loyal squad of about thirty soldiers under Captain Romualdo Pacheco. Assuming their command, he advanced toward Los Angeles. The Governor was met at Cahuenga Pass by Pablo Portilla and 150 men. A volley of harmless fire was exchanged. Captain Pacheco, perhaps through misunderstanding of Victoria's orders, rode forward on his beautiful black horse into the space between the two parties. From the other side rode hulking José María Ávila, a man of Herculean strength and expert horsemanship. Challenging Pacheco to single combat, he rushed forward, his lance leveled like that of a jousting medieval knight. Pacheco swerved to avoid the thrust of his opponent, and Ávila was carried past by the impetus of his horse. Then, turning in the saddle, he drew a pistol and shot Pacheco through the heart.⁴

Both sides rushed forward, and the battle became general. Victoria managed to rally and hold his badly outnumbered force

to a draw. But within a month he was on a ship headed for Mexico.

Meanwhile, in Santa Barbara, a mourning widow, Ramona Carrillo de Pacheco, laid her beloved husband to rest, and prepared to meet life anew with her two infant sons.

Ramona was still young and lovely. In 1836 or 1837, she married the well-known Scotch shipmaster and trader, Captain John Wilson.⁵ For several years, she and her new husband continued to occupy the Carrillo House in Santa Barbara—living in an easy, Californian way, extending an open-handed and gracious hospitality to all who passed through their town.

Edward Vischer visited Santa Barbara in 1842 and took note of what he called "an atmosphere of pious individualism which is soon felt by a newcomer. Yet," he continued, "there is no lack of elegant households . . . The house of Captain Wilson . . . was to me a most pleasing picture of domestic comfort and harmony."⁶ William Heath Davis, in his *Seventy-Five Years in California*, had this to say of the Wilson household: "Doña Ramona, the mother of Governor Pacheco, when I first knew her in 1838 at Santa Barbara, was a handsome woman, queenly in her walk and bearing, and among her countrywomen, who were noted for their beauty, she was one of the most attractive." Ramona, he continued, "was kind to all the merchants who visited that part. In 1842 and '43, I was at Santa Barbara as supercargo of the 'Don Quixote,' and often dined with her. Frequently when the hour arrived and I was not there, she would send a servant round the town to find me, with the message, '*Doña Ramona está esperando a usted para la comida.*' (Doña Ramona is waiting dinner for you.) . . . Her kindness to me is among my pleasantest recollections."⁷

On April 6, 1837, Governor Juan Alvarado granted the 48,000 acre Rancho *Suey* to Ramona Carrillo.⁸ This property, extending along the Santa María and Cuyama Rivers, lay partly in Santa Barbara County and partly in San Luis Obispo County. In 1845, Doña Ramona's husband, Captain Wilson, was granted two ranchos near Mission San Luis Obispo de Tolosa. The first of these, *Cañada de los Osos y Pecho e Islay*, was granted to Wilson and his partner, James Scott, on September 24, 1845, and included 32,000 acres.⁹

The Carrillos of San Diego

The second was *Cañada del Chorro*, 3,000 acres that were granted to Scott and Wilson on October 10, 1845. In 1847, when his partnership with Scott was dissolved, Capain Wilson obtained sole title to these lands. Between *Cañada del Chorro* and *Cañada de los Osos*, an Indian named Romualdo cultivated a bit of land at the base of *Cerro Romulaldo*. This property, granted to the Indian in 1842, consisted of 117 acres. In later years it was purchased by Wilson and called *Huerta de Romualdo* (Romualdo's Garden).¹⁰

Ramona and John Wilson moved to their huge San Luis Obispo ranchos in 1845. There, in Los Osos Valley, a few miles west of the mission, they built a low adobe ranch house with three picturesque dormer windows, in which they made their home.

The Mexican War burst suddenly upon the residents of San Luis Obispo in December of 1846, when a battalion of American riflemen under Captain John C. Frémont rode down from Monterey, helping themselves to cattle and horses along the way, and took possession of the town. Quarters for the night in San Luis Obispo Mission, they arrested Don José de Jesus Pico, owner of Rancho *Piedra Blanca*, a Californian who had resisted the onslaught of Frémont's men.

The next morning, a procession of women marched to the quarters of Frémont. Edwin Bryant wrote that they passed him along a corridor in the mission, headed by a "lady of fine appearance," who was "dressed with remarkable taste and neatness." Most of the women wore dark-colored *rebozos* to conceal their faces, but not the lady "with the beautiful features." She had come to intercede in behalf of Frémont's prisoner, Señor Pico, who had been court-martialed and condemned to death by the Americans. The women's pleas, voiced eloquently by so charming and beautiful a lady, softened Frémont and won Pico's release. The lady was Ramona Carrillo de Wilson.¹¹

Captain Wilson and his wife were prominent residents of early-day San Luis Obispo County. Their more than 80,000 acres of oak-studded hills and valleys were covered with thousands of horses and cattle. For a time, the Wilsons had a town house in San Luis Obispo, located where the County Museum stands today. In

1850, they paid a tax bill of \$639.20, reputed to have been the largest in the county.¹²

As the years passed by, Ramona's two sons, Mariano and Romualdo Pacheco, were joined by sisters, Ramona and Juanita Wilson, and by a brother, John Wilson. Of these children, Ramona, in later years, became the wife of the shipmaster, Captain Hilliard, and inherited a part of Rancho *Pecho e Islay*. Ramona's son, John Wilson, settled in England.¹³

Californian prosperity, so abundant in the early years, began to decline in the 1850's. Captain Wilson died in 1860, and in 1864 severe drought descended on Doña Ramona's lands. Cattle, once 14,000 head strong, now died in the fields from starvation. Scores of *vaqueros* were employed, carrying off the hides as quickly as possible, to save them while still in a marketable condition. The great loss of these years was the beginning of Ramona's financial troubles, and before the passage of many years her huge ranchos had been broken up.¹⁴

Under date of June 10, 1863, General Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo wrote from San Francisco to his wife, Francisca Benicia Carrillo, that he was going to visit Doña Ramona, then stopping with her daughter, Mrs. Hilliard. In her later years, Ramona lived in San Francisco, while her son, Romualdo Pacheco, rose steadily on the political scene. State Treasurer, Brigadier-General of Militia, Lieutenant-Governor and Governor of the State of California in 1875, Romualdo's success gave his mother a justifiable feeling of pride. Mariano Pacheco, Romualdo's older brother, purchased a portion of Rancho *Piedra Blanca* from José de Jesus Pico, and until the 1870's lived there with his family in an adobe that overlooked the crashing Pacific surf. Later purchased by Senator George Hearst, this property became part of the huge Rancho *San Simeon* of publisher William Randolph Hearst. Near the present-day town of San Simeon, Mariano Pacheco died and was buried.¹⁵

The death of Ramona Carrillo de Wilson occurred sometime after 1885. Proud representative of Spanish California, she was a colorful pioneer. Her memory lives today as an inseparable part of California's heritage.

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PART IV

Francisca Benicia Carrillo



THE FOURTH DAUGHTER OF JOAQUIN VICTOR and María Ignacia Carrillo was Francisca Benicia, born in San Diego on August 23, 1815.¹⁶

Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo, writing in his *Historia de California*, has left a glowing record of the feminine charm that graced California's first Spanish settlement in the early nineteenth century. "Notwithstanding the departure of many families from San Diego," he writes, "no part of the country retains so high a claim for the amiable and social qualities of the fairer portion of the inhabitants. There, indeed, the grace of person and amiability of the fair sex have attracted the young men of the North, and caused many of them to be led captive to the altar."¹⁷

It was early 1830, and Alférez Guadalupe Vallejo was in San Diego in connection with the revolt of Joaquin Solis against the administration of Governor Echeandía. Here, visiting within the mellowed walls of the *Casa de Carrillo*, young Vallejo met the fifteen year-old Señorita Francisca Benicia Carrillo. It was now winter, and there was a chill in the night air at San Diego. But Vallejo, standing beneath Señorita Francisca's window, serenaded her with flowery Spanish verses and melodious songs. Visiting with the señorita's father, Don Joaquin, he discussed politics and military affairs, and favorably impressed the older man with his youthful but measured judgment. Soon, duty called him to his post as Captain of the Port of Monterey. But, leaving San Diego, his thoughts lingered romantically behind—with the *Casa de Carrillo* and the youthful Francisca.

It was October, 1830, before Vallejo could return. This time he brought with him the consent of his parents, Ignacio and María Antonia Vallejo, to wed Señorita Carrillo. Calling at the Carrillo home, he obtained the consent of the young lady's parents. Then, in the presence of the inevitable *duenna*, he personally asked Fran-

cisca for her hand. She replied with a deep sigh and a romantic "Yes."

Their future was periled now by the interminable intricacies of Mexican governmental process. Vallejo was in the army, and the War Department in Mexico City required its approval before an officer could marry. A messenger was at once dispatched to the Mexican capital, petitioning, in staid, legal terms, the marriage of Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo, a soldier of twenty-three, and Francisca Benicia Carrillo, a tender "spinster of fifteen years of age."¹⁸

Weeks and months passed by as the lovers awaited the messenger's return. Meanwhile, Vallejo was called back to Monterey, from there to be sent north to San Francisco's bleak presidio, as *comandante* of the *Castillo de San Joaquin*. It was January, 1832, before the young officer could return to San Diego. California's *diputación* had been summoned by Governor Echeandía to meet in Los Angeles, and Vallejo had been elected a member. Attending to his duties in the sleepy pueblo of the Angels, the young man's mind dwelt in San Diego. Soon he secured a ten days' leave from the *diputación* and headed south, there to spend carefree, romantic days with his beloved Francisca. Early in March, he was called to military duty at Mission San Juan Capistrano. While there, the long-awaited messenger arrived from Mexico, bringing Vallejo's *permiso* from the War Department—his long-sought permission to wed Señorita Francisca.¹⁹

It was March 6, 1832, seventeen months after their engagement. This was the season of Lent, and the Church frowned on such frivolities as marriage. But the young lovers, having waited so long already, were impatient, and the hearts of the *padres* were kind. Within the doors of San Diego's presidial chapel, friends and relatives gathered for the ceremony. As Vallejo himself later described the occasion: "The parties stood in a circle while the *padre* blessed the rings and the *arras*; then the padre put one ring on my right hand, and I put the other on that of the bride. Then I gave her the *arras* [in this case, thirteen ounces of bright, California gold], saying, 'This ring and these *arras* I give thee in token of matrimony'."²⁰ Graciously declining so sumptuous a gift, the bride

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placed the gold on the church platter, and was "blessed with her children for the gift."²¹

At the San Diego home of the bridegroom's godfather, Don Juan Bandini, nuptial festivities were now to be held. In the gayly wreathed gardens of the *Casa de Bandini*, there was music and dancing, feasting and joyful toasts. Governor Echeandía congratulated the young couple with these words: "I drink to the happiness of this young couple whom I appreciate and esteem. I made young Vallejo ensign of cavalry for his merits and activity in service. I have known his young wife since she was eight years old, and I have had frequent occasion to admire her fine manners. May Heaven keep happiness for them, and may their children be many and worthy of them, an ornament to our dear California and of the cultured society of San Diego."²²

Once again the affairs of California government drew the young couple apart. After spending several months with Francisca in San Diego, Vallejo journeyed north to meet the new governor, José Figueroa, in Monterey, and from there continued on to his post at San Francisco.

Stationed on the sandy, wind-swept peninsula, enveloped in shrouds of cottony fog, Guadalupe Vallejo was lonely and longed to have his bride with him. Weeks passed by, and he found no opportunity to leave his duties. Finally, in the spring of 1833, he dispatched his younger brother, Salvador Vallejo, to depart for San Diego with a detachment of twenty soldiers, brightly uniformed in blue and scarlet, to escort Francisca north.²³

Francisca Carrillo de Vallejo arrived in San Francisco in February or March of 1833. Here, in the low *comandante's* house at the southeast corner of the presidio, she and *Comandante* Vallejo made their first home. The *Castillo de San Joaquin* was a busy place. Soldiers and their wives made their homes in its adobe barracks; *padres* celebrated Mass in the presidial chapel; there were storehouses, workshops, stables, and a constant buzz of activity.

In August, 1834, Guadalupe Vallejo was appointed *comisionado* of Mission San Francisco Solano de Sonoma. Here, in the verdant and fertile Valley of Sonoma (translated from the Indian to mean "Valley of the Moon"), he founded the presidio and pueblo of

Sonoma in 1835. It was late in the summer of that year, up from San Francisco, that Francisca Carrillo de Vallejo came with her infant son, Andronico, to live in the crumbling buildings of the Sonoma Mission. Soon a plaza was laid out, largest in all California; barracks for the presidial soldiers, transferred here from San Francisco, were constructed; and a large, new home for the Vallejo house was later enlarged. Called the *Casa Grande*, it was now two stories in height, with long, shaded verandas on each floor and a three-story tower at one end, from which Guadalupe Vallejo could survey the surrounding countryside—wary both of Indians and of the Russians less than fifty miles north at Fort Ross.

Sixteen sons and daughters were born to Francisca Carrillo de Vallejo, indeed abundant blessing for her church-bequeathed *arras*. The first two sons, Andronico I, who died at the age of six months, and Andronico II were born in the Presidio of San Francisco. The other fourteen were children of the pastoral Sonoma Valley. Their names, with the dates of their births, were: Epifania de Guadalupe, August 4, 1835; Adelayda, January 5, 1837; Natalia Veneranda, February 12, 1838; Plutarco I, June 10, 1839; Platon Mariano Guadalupe, February 5, 1841; Guadalupe, April 29, 1843; Jovita Francisca, February 23, 1844; Uladislao, November 6, 1845; Plutarco II, November 13, 1847; Benicia Zenobia, January 21, 1849; Napoleón Primo, December 8, 1850; Benicia Ysabel, April 30, 1853; Luisa Eugenia, January 27, 1856; and María Ygnacia, May 8, 1857. Including the baby, Andronico I, six of their children died in infancy or early childhood. Two of the Vallejo daughters, Epifania and Adelayda, married members of the Frisbie family, General J. B. and Dr. Levi Frisbie, respectively. Natalia Veneranda Vallejo married Attila Haraszthy, son of the "Father of California Viticulture," Count Agoston Haraszthy; and her sister, Jovita, married Attila's brother, Arpad. Luisa Eugenia Vallejo married Ricardo Emparian; María Ygnacia married James H. Cutter; Dr. Platon Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo married Lily Wiley and was one of early California's most prominent physicians, practicing many years in the city of Vallejo. Luisa Vallejo de Emparan, last survivor of the family of Francisca Carrillo de Vallejo, died in Sonoma on July 23, 1943.²⁴

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In the 1830's and '40's, wealth and prestige steadily increased for Doña Francisca and Don Guadalupe. Their home at Sonoma, and another at Petaluma, were great rancho centers, including within their domain more than 100,000 acres of rolling valley grasslands and oak-studded hillsides. As Vallejo's wealth increased, so did his fortune in California politics. In 1836, a revolt against Governor Nicolás Gutiérrez was led by his young nephew, Juan Bautista Alvarado; and Vallejo was made *Comandante General* of all California, sharing with Alvarado California's military and civil rule.²⁵

In Sonoma, life in the Vallejo *Casa Grande* was a constant buzz of activity. Manuel Torres, writing in his *Peripecias de Vida California* (Incidents of California Life), has this to say of one of his visits to General Vallejo's home: "I found the patio full of servants of both sexes . . . I asked the General's wife in what so many Indians were occupied. 'Each one of my children, boy or girl,' she said, 'has a servant who has no other duty than to care for him or her. I have two servants for myself. Four or five grind corn for the tortillas, for here we entertain so many guests that three grinders are not enough. Six or seven serve in the kitchen. Five or six are constantly busy washing the clothes of the children and servants. And nearly a dozen are required to attend to the sewing and spinning. As a rule, the Indians are not inclined to learn more than one duty. She who is taught cooking will not hear of washing clothes; and a good washerwoman considers herself insulted if she is compelled to sew or spin.'" ²⁶

In late 1847, General Vallejo entered into a partnership with Thomas O. Larkin and Dr. Robert Semple for the projection of a new city on San Francisco Bay. It was planned to be the great metropolis of the new State of California, a Mecca of the great westward migration that was sure to follow on the heels of California's conquest. Don Guadalupe said to his partners: "You shall select the site and I will furnish you such land as you require, but your great city must bear the name of my beloved wife, Francisca." On December 22, 1847, the General deeded Semple a sweeping tract of five square miles on the broad, deep-water Straits of Carquinez.

Promotion of the new city was begun quickly and with great enthusiasm. Stores and houses were built; a ferry connecting Francisca with Contra Costa County, the opposite shore of Carquinez Straits, was established; and Dr. Semple's pioneer newspaper, the *Alta California*, was transferred from Monterey to the new city. Great hope was held for the future of Francisca.²⁷

A short time later, across the bay in the sleepy settlement of Yerba Buena, Alcalde Washington Bartlett convened the town council. Alarmed by the progress of their rival, Francisca, the city fathers of Yerba Buena determined that something must be done to bolster their interests. "San Francisco," the name of a mission and a bay, was by this time world-famous. Bartlett and his advisers decided that they should adopt this name for their town. Now, when immigrants entered the great Bay of San Francisco, they would know where to anchor their ships. Yerba Buena became San Francisco.

The names of the two great bay rivals were now similar—"Francisca," "San Francisco"—confusingly similar. Semple, Lar-kin, and Vallejo determined that they, too, must make a change. They accordingly adopted the second name of Señora Vallejo, Benicia.²⁸

In 1849, sooner than expected, the great flood of westward migration began. Thousands of gold-hungry travelers, struggling across the Sierra Nevadas or rounding Cape Horn in clipper ships, descended on San Francisco Bay, gateway to the Mother Lode. Each year, California's population grew by hundreds of thousands. In 1850, with more than the minimum population required for statehood, California was admitted to the Union. The state capital, first at San José, later at Vallejo, found its way to the burgeoning city of Benicia in February, 1853.²⁹ Meeting here in a red brick capitol building, the legislature remained for eleven months. Meanwhile, pressures were being exerted from all around to have the capital moved once again. Finally, in April, 1854, it headed up the Great Central Valley to Sacramento.³⁰ Deprived of the state government, Benicia's future now looked bleak. Attracted by its name, settlers

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by the hundreds of thousands were crowding onto San Francisco's sandy, wind-swept peninsula. While her rival grew by leaps and bounds, Benicia slumped. General William T. Sherman, then serving as a Lieutenant in California, had this to say of the city's early aspirations: "That Benicia has the best natural site for a commercial city, I am satisfied; and had half the money and half the labor since bestowed upon San Francisco been expended at Benicia, we should have at this day a city of palaces on the Carquinez Straits."³¹ In later years, General Vallejo remarked about the two early state capitals which he founded: "Benicia is my wife; Vallejo is myself."³²

Living for over fifty years in the peaceful Valley of the Moon, Francisca Carrillo de Vallejo and her husband grew old with grace. Squatters and land litigation leaned heavily on their once-feudal land holdings, and as the years passed by, their Indian servants and opulent wealth diminished. Still living the grand, Californian life, Dona Francisca entertained many guests at her spacious home, "Lachryma Montis," built in 1850 on the outskirts of Sonoma. Here, to pay their respects to the courtly Vallejos, came Ulysses Grant, William T. Sherman, and David Glasgow Farragut.³³ In 1864, Don Guadalupe and Francisca's charming daughter, Natalia Veneranda, were in Washington, D.C., at the Inaugural Ball of Abraham Lincoln. Señorita Natalia had been born on the President's birthday, February 12, 1838.

Edwin Bryant, visiting the Vallejo home in 1846, had this to say of Doña Francisca: "Señora Vallejo is a lady of charming personal appearance and possesses in the highest degree that natural grace, ease, and warmth of manner which render Spanish ladies so attractive and fascinating to the stranger."³⁴ Another writer has said: "Señora Vallejo was beloved by everybody. She was a beautiful and motherly woman who saw harm in nobody. Of her, a later traveler was to say that he found two things in California supremely good: the grapes and Doña Francisca Benicia."³⁵

Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo died on January 18, 1890. Francisca Benicia Carrillo de Vallejo lived on at "Lachryma Montis" for another year, and died on January 30, 1891.³⁶

PART V

Maria de la Luz Carrillo



ARIA DE LA LUZ WAS THE THIRD DAUGHTER of María Ignacia and Don Joaquin Victor Carrillo. Known to her family and friends as Luz, she was born at the *Casa de Carrillo* in San Diego on May 18, 1813.³⁷

In 1832, María de la Luz's younger sister, Francisca, had married Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo, the dashing Captain of the Port of Monterey. Unable to escort his bride personally from San Diego to her new home at the Presidio of San Francisco, Vallejo had called on his younger brother, José Manuel Salvador del Mundo Vallejo, to perform the task. Arriving in San Diego and according to Francisca his most chivalrous courtesy and charm, Salvador also became deeply aware of her twenty year-old sister, the dark-eyed María de la Luz.

In the spring of 1833, Don Salvador and Doña Francisca reached their destination in San Francisco, and within two years they were eighty miles north in the picturesque Valley of the Moon. Here, at the last-established and most northerly of the California missions, a presidio and pueblo were established as a check on the Russian settlement at Fort Ross.

In about 1837, along with other members of her family, María de la Luz moved north to Sonoma and thence to the fertile Valley of Santa Rosa. Here, her mother, María Ignacia Lopez de Carrillo, had been granted the spacious Rancho *Cabeza de Santa Rosa*.³⁸ Along California's northern frontier, Luz Carrillo and Salvador Vallejo renewed their old acquaintance. When her mother and brothers began to build their large adobe at Santa Rosa, the first house in that region, Salvador Vallejo came up from Sonoma to help with the design and to supervise María de la Luz's five young brothers in building the house.³⁹

On September 8, 1840—eight years after the marriage of Francisca Carrillo and Guadalupe Vallejo—María de la Luz and José Manuel Salvador del Mundo Vallejo were married.⁴⁰ The ceremony

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was performed by Padre José M. Gonzales in the chapel of Mission San Francisco Solano de Sonoma. The groom's brother, now General Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo, was there as witness. And, after the ceremony, he gave his hearty congratulations to his brother and to the lovely María de la Luz, now twice his sister-in-law. Captain of *Defensores de la patria*, Salvador had long been his brother's right-hand man, and his marriage served to cement their friendship even more strongly.

After their wedding, Salvador and Luz Vallejo came to live in a large adobe house built on the west side of the Sonoma plaza.⁴¹ To relieve the bleakness of the walls in her new home, Luz brought with her a red leather chest, filled with delicate embroideries and inspirational religious prints. As prosperity came to the Vallejos, imported furniture and objects of art were gradually purchased, and their home took on an air of luxury then uncommon in California.

On September 21, 1838, Governor Juan Alvarado granted sprawling Rancho *Napa*, some ten miles east of Sonoma, to Salvador Vallejo. On March 2, 1853, María de la Luz and Salvador filed claim for about 3,000 acres of this rancho, having from time to time sold parts of it that lay back from the Napa River. Confirmation was now requested for the section called *Trancas y Jalapas* (Sticks and Morning-Glories).⁴²

On the west bank of the river, Don Salvador built his home. It was a large house with thick adobe walls that kept it cool in summer and warm in winter. The living room was floored, half with gray stone, and half with hewn planks. Nearby, he built a second adobe as quarters for his numerous workers. Across the river from *Las Trancas* lay the 6,000 acre *Rancho Llajome*, also the property of Salvador and Luz Vallejo. There, a low, rambling house was built which served as a stable and as living quarters for the rancho's *mayordomo*.

María de la Luz and her husband felt at home in the Napa Valley. In Sonoma, they had been prominent citizens, respected by all the townspeople. But, inevitably, they were overshadowed by the dominant figures of General Vallejo and his wife. Here, in

Napa, they could make their own lives as Francisca and Don Guadalupe had done in Sonoma.

The Vallejos' early years were marked by notable success. Salvador constructed and operated a large soap factory, and his thousands of cattle roamed for miles on the grass-covered hillsides. Joseph Warren Revere, grandson of Paul Revere, visited Napa in the late 1840's and wrote his impressions of the Vallejo home there: "Don Salvador is the largest proprietor, owning two adjoining estates, which together make six square leagues, a snug little farm of thirty thousand acres of the best land in the world . . . The exquisite views which abound in every direction, the complete seclusion of the spot, bounded at the broader end by the waters of the bay, and at every other point by jagged mountain crags, realize the ideal of a 'Happy Valley'."⁴³

Three sons and four daughters were born to Salvador and María de la Luz Vallejo. They were: Ignacio Loyola, who was born February 9, 1849, at Sonoma; Platon, who, in later years, moved to Los Angeles; Manuel (also called Avril); María Ynez Telecilla; Ana; Zarela; and María Antonia.⁴⁴

In the late 1850's, María de la Luz and her husband left Napa and went south to the Pajaro Valley near Watsonville, where they lived with Salvador's brother, Juan Antonio, on his Rancho *Bolsa de San Cayetano*. Always the soldier, Don Salvador volunteered for service in the Union Army during the Civil War, and was commissioned by Governor Leland Stanford a Major of the Native California Cavalry. María de la Luz moved back to Napa, where she lived, probably with her son, Ignacio, who now owned the *Las Trancas* rancho.

In 1864, returned from the war, Salvador moved to Sonoma where he lived with his brother's family at "Lachryma Montis." Here he remained for the last twelve years of his life, beloved by his many nephews and nieces, respected as an adventurous representative of old California.

María de la Luz continued to live on at Napa.⁴⁵ Taking a lesson from her husband's earlier financial difficulties, she saved her

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money carefully. The once-vast Vallejo ranchos were now gone, and Salvador, when he died in 1876, was almost penniless. Luz Carrillo de Vallejo made profitable real estate investments in Coombsville, located near Napa City.

Proud representative of Spanish California, María de la Luz died on May 18, 1890,⁴⁶ and was buried beside her husband in Tulucay Cemetery, overlooking the winding Napa River.

* * *

PART VI

Felicidad Carrillo

ELICIDAD CARRILLO, FIFTH DAUGHTER OF JOAQUIN and María Ignacia, was born at the *Casa de Carrillo* in San Diego early in 1833. Baptized on March 28 at Felicidad de la Augusta,⁴⁷ she was still a baby when her father died in about 1836. Felicidad, together with her mother, her brothers, and her unmarried sisters, moved to the region north of San Francisco Bay in about 1837. Here lived her sister, Francisca Benicia Carrillo, wife of the *Comandante General* of California, Don Guadalupe Vallejo. This region was California's northern frontier, a land in which Felicidad's mother hoped to make a new life for herself and her children.

In 1837, the Carrillo family moved to Sonoma, and a year later they were thirty miles north, in the verdant grasslands of the Santa Rosa Valley. Here a large adobe home was built for their family, the first in the Santa Rosa region.⁴⁸

During the 1840's, Felicidad lived on *Cabeza de Santa Rosa*, the 8,000 acre Carrillo rancho, with her mother and her sisters, Juanita and Marta. In 1849, Señora Carrillo died and was buried in the chapel of Mission San Francisco Solano de Sonoma.⁴⁹ Felicidad and her sisters inherited portions of their mother's rancho and continued to live on in the Carrillo adobe.

In the early 1850's, Felicidad met Victor Castro, a land-wealthy ranchero from California's *Contra Costa*, the east shore of San Fran-

cisco Bay. Victor's first wife, Luisa Martinez, had recently died, and the spacious rooms of his once-gay *El Cerrito* adobe were now lonely and quiet. Probably in about 1855, Felicidad and Victor were married.

Victor Castro was a younger brother of Martina Castro, wife of former Governor Juan Bautista Alvarado. Alvarado, now in retirement, lived with his wife just four miles north of the Castro adobe, in the present-day town of San Pablo. Don Victor's sprawling lands extended for several miles along the eastern shore of San Francisco Bay, bordering Rancho *San Antonio* of the Peralta family in the south, and Alvarado's property in the north.

Castro's imposing adobe home stood on a knoll on the north bank of El Cerrito Creek. The house had been begun by Victor's father, some twenty years before. But now, gladdened by the presence of his new bride, Felicidad Carrillo, Victor began extensive remodeling of the house. He added a second story, with broad, sweeping balconies that extended across the front and rear of the building. In the north wing, he built a little chapel, in which the *padres* celebrated occasional Mass.⁵⁰ Felicidad must have felt at home on Rancho *San Pablo*, for all around were great herds of horses and cattle that awakened fond memories of *Cabeza de Santa Rosa*.

In about 1856, Felicidad gave birth to her first daughter, Jovita. The new child's godmother was Francisca Carrillo de Vallejo, Felicidad's sister in Sonoma.⁵¹ This was a happy event, celebrated by Carrillos and Castros alike. However, it was soon followed by an equally unhappy one. Possibly as a result of giving birth to her daughter, or from a disease brought on by her weakened condition, Felicidad died on July 23, 1856.⁵² Just twenty-three years old, she was taken across the bay to San Francisco's Mission Dolores, where she was buried.

Jovita Castro, Felicidad's daughter, was a healthy, happy child, who lived on to become the wife of Don Candido Gutiérrez. For many years, she lived a few miles north of Rancho *San Pablo*, in the Gutiérrez adobe in the present-day city of Richmond.⁵³



—Brian McGinny Collection

JUANA CARRILLO DE MALLAGH




—Brian McGinny Collection

MARTA CARRILLO DE CARRILLO

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PART VII

Juana de Jesus Carrillo

UANA DE JESUS CARRILLO was the sixth daughter of Joaquin and María Ignacia. Born at the *Casa de Carrillo* in San Diego, probably in about 1834, she was known to her family and friends as Juanita. Still a baby when her father died in about 1836, she was only three when her mother and older brothers and sisters moved north to Sonoma in 1837, and four when they settled on Rancho *Cabeza de Santa Rosa*.

In 1849, when her mother died, Juanita and her unmarried sisters inherited a part of the Carrillo rancho that lay across Santa Rosa Creek from the property of her older brother, Julio.⁵⁴ Thereafter, Juanita continued to live in the Carrillo adobe.

In about 1850, Juana married David Mallagh, an Irish sea captain who had originally come to California in 1846 and settled in San Luis Obispo.⁵⁵ After their marriage, Juanita and Captain Mallagh lived on in Santa Rosa, converting part of the Carrillo adobe into a general merchandising store, where they catered to the needs of California's ever-growing Gold Rush population.⁵⁶

In 1851, with the Scotsman, Donald MacDonald, Juanita's husband formed the firm of Mallagh and MacDonald. Continuing to operate their store in the old Carrillo adobe, Captain Mallagh and his partner also opened a wayside inn. Offering "meals and drinks for man, mule, and mustang,"⁵⁷ their popular inn took the name of "Santa Rosa House."

From Santa Rosa, the Mallaghs moved south to San Luis Obispo, where Juana's sister, Ramona, lived with her husband, Captain John Wilson. Here they established a home which was to serve them for many years and in which most of their children were born. The Mallagh family consisted of three daughters and four sons: Felicidad, María, Anita, David, John, William, and Eusavio.⁵⁸

For many years, Captain Mallagh and his oldest son, David, operated a stage coach line carrying passengers from San Luis Obispo south to Port Harford, now known as Port San Luis. About a

mile east of there, on the rugged cliffs above San Luis Obispo Bay at Cave Landing, Mallagh erected a warehouse with a long, wooden chute leading down to the water. Here, huge spikes with immense iron rings attached were driven into solid rock. To these rings, the great cables of ships that entered San Luis Obispo Bay were attached. For a decade, Captain Mallagh and his sons handled all shipping at the cove, hauling freight, as well as passengers, to and from San Luis Obispo.⁵⁹

Descendants of Felicidad Carrillo de Mallagh have long assumed prominent roles in San Luis Obispo County affairs. William Mallagh, commonly known as Billy, was a long-time and highly respected judge in San Luis Obispo.⁶⁰ One of his sons is now serving there as County Clerk.

* * *

PART VIII

Marta Carrillo



HE SEVENTH DAUGHTER OF JOAQUIN and María Ignacia Lopez de Carrillo was Marta, born at the *Casa de Carrillo* in San Diego in about 1835.

The 1840's were the years of Rancho *Cabeza de Santa Rosa's* greatest prosperity. Here, on 8,000 acres of fertile, oak-studded grassland, where cattle and horses were grazed by the thousands, Marta Carrillo was raised. Learning to handle the graceful Spanish *reata*, riding as if born to the saddle.—she lived the free and open California life.

In 1849, María Ignacia Carrillo died, leaving Marta some 1,600 acres of *Cabeza de Santa Rosa* that lay between Manzas and Santa Rosa Creeks.⁶¹ In about 1855, Marta married Joaquin Carrillo, a distant cousin from Southern California, who had the same name as her father and oldest brother.

The 1850's were years of Spanish California disillusionment. Gone now were the days when a handful of tranquil aristocrats, living in scattered ranch houses, dominated the landscape. The old ranchos were fast breaking up, as thousands of squatters descended on the state in the wake of California's epic Gold Rush.

The Carrillos of San Diego

During the first years of their marriage, Marta and Joaquin Carrillo led a meagre life. Their family ranchos now almost gone, relief could no longer be sought in grants from a land-liberal Mexican government. Instead, Marta and Joaquin worked hard and saved their money, after a few years investing in some property in Santa Rosa. This, together with Marta's portion of *Cabeza de Santa Rosa*, some of which she had managed to retain, made a comfortable home for the Carrillos.

After having lived on the property for several years, Marta was one day served with a notice of ejectment. She protested and was shown what purported to be a deed to the property, signed by herself. She was told that her brother-in-law, Salvador Vallejo, had made the sale and received the purchase price. This news came as a shock to Marta; but now her days of resistance were over. Not wishing to bring disgrace to her family, she made no issue and, instead, went to live with one of her brothers.⁶²

As the years passed by, Marta saw her sisters and brothers gradually die. The youngest child of Joaquin and María Ignacia Carrillo, she outlived them all. Last survivor of one of California's most distinguished Spanish families, Marta Carrillo de Carrillo died sometime after 1900.

NOTES

(Thanks are once again due: Mrs. Natalia Vallejo McGinty, granddaughter of Natalia Vallejo Haraszthy, great-granddaughter of Francisca Benicia Carrillo and Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo; Robert Ramon Harris, godson of Ramona Carrillo de Wilson, grandson of José Ramon Carrillo, great-grandson of Joaquin and María Ignacia Carrillo; Mrs. Madie D. Brown, Curator of the Vallejo Home State Historical Monument, Sonoma.)

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4. Nellie Sanchez, *Spanish Arcadia* (Los Angeles, 1929), p. 334.
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12. *Ibid.*, p. 21.
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16. Information provided by Madie Brown.

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47. *Ibid.*
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49. Tablet over grave, San Francisco Solano Mission.
50. Hoover and Rensch, *op. cit.*, p. 230.
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55. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 729.
56. Hoover and Rensch, *op. cit.*
57. Gregory, *op. cit.*, p. 156.
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61. *San Francisco Bulletin*, March 11, 1890, "Sonoma Valley Before the Gringos Came." Based on an interview, March 3, 1900, with Marta Carrillo.
62. *Ibid.*

Prominent Women of Provincial California

By J. N. Bowman



IN THE SEPTEMBER, 1949, ISSUE of the Historical Society of Southern California *Quarterly* appeared an article on "Great Women of California" by Dr. Rockwell D. Hunt.

Of the 28 listed, two were of the provincial days while of the others, all of the American period, 11 were from the literary field, seven from the stage, five from the field of social reform and education, and three from the field of philanthropy. The norms of selection were apparently the newspaper acclaim and tradition; these norms also made possible the inclusion of the two from the provincial days—the wife of Governor Fages and Concepcion Argüello.

For this study of the women of provincial California neither newspaper acclaim or tradition of the American period can be of service since the newspaper days arrived after the end of the Mexican rule and tradition of this period was soon lost among the Americans. During the nearly 80 years of the Spanish-Mexican control of the present State it may be assumed that the women played a greater or a lesser part in the province but their lives and their activities are not heralded in print or in available existing traditions.

For this study the activities of provincial Californians may be periodized as follows: The period of exploration on land extended from the Portolá expedition to San Francisco Bay in 1769 to that of Argüello up the Sacramento River to near Red Bluff, westward to the coast and southward up the Eel River in 1821; in this period other expeditions were made against the hostile Indians. This was solely a man's work. The period of settlement was of five kinds—the Missions of 1769 to 1823 were managed by the padres for the neophytes with military guards and their families, when they had

them, to the days of secularization in 1834-37 when urban communities were established at most of the missions. In both cases women could and did play their part. The presidios from Monterey in 1770 followed by San Francisco, Santa Barbara, and San Diego when it was raised to presidial rank, were manned by the soldiers with quarters for their families, when they had them. The third form of settlement was the period of the founding of the pueblos from San Jose in 1777, Los Angeles four years later and Branciforte near the end of the century. They were for retired soldiers, and others, with their families. The presidios in the 1820's and 1830's were also authorized to found presidial pueblos, also for retired soldiers and their families. The last and fifth period, that of the land grants, extended from 1775 to 1847. In all these forms of settlement women played their part but just what their part was is not now definitely known. Tradition and popular reports grew up as verbal recognition of the activities of the women of those days but there were no newspapers or books to record their deeds, and the traditions are now lost or perhaps have descended in some manner to the present third and fourth generations.

We deal here with women of Spanish and Mexican origin or those of native origin who became Spanish in life and culture. Their fields of activity were restricted; no literary activity was open to either women or men and the few manuscripts written during those days were by the padres; there was no stage for their careers; the little education was in the hands of the men and primarily for them; and social reform was far in the future. Only the field of philanthropy was open to the women—serving their neighbors in time of childbirth, sickness, or catastrophe.

In the absence of the traditional popularity and of available sources in the American period other norms of recognition and selection must be found for use in connection with surviving and available records of those days. Books of the explorers and travelers, the nearest approach to the newspaper sources, reveal nothing of individual women activities, and the traditions descending in the families to the present are difficult to learn and especially to test for their authenticity and validity; and of the women of the last generation of the provincial days who lived into the American period only a

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few were found by Bancroft in the 1870's to be of sufficient interest to secure from them a statement of their recollections of the early days.

Recourse must be had to the available and surviving documentary sources of those days. The mission books of baptisms, marriages, and deaths are available for all the missions, except San Luis Rey which have been lost for over a century, but they contain only the bare facts of birth (usually), baptism, marriage, and interment. The almost 300 MS volumes of the general records of the "Spanish Archives" were burned in the 1906 San Francisco fire and what remains of them are the copies or extracts printed in the volumes of the Archives researchers and in the 63 volumes of "California Archives" as copied, abstracted, and referred to as made by Bancroft in the late 1870's for the writing of his history of the State; these, however, have nothing of service in recognizing and selecting prominent women of those days. The only source for the activities of individual women is the collection of land grant papers of the "Spanish Archives" which survived the 1906 fire in the iron safe and now in National Archives in Washington, and the "Spanish Records," of 1866-71, made by the State and now in the State Archives, and especially in the testimony in the private land grant cases for the patenting of the granted lands based on Spanish and Mexican origins, and still in possession of the Clerk of the U. S. District Court in San Francisco. From these records norms of selection may be determined for activities out of the ordinary.

Several facts may be excluded from the norms—that they were women, that they were wives, that they were mothers, and that they were pioneers and lived under pioneering conditions. The wives of the soldiers and their few unmarried sisters and daughters lived in the presidios and in the guard barracks of the missions, and, if retired, in the pueblos, presidial pueblos or in the pueblos which followed the secularized missions, and on the ranchos. It was within these localities that the provincial women played their part from the time of their first arrival at the very beginning of 1776 with the Anza expedition. During this period of 70 years whatever may be found as to prominent activity must now be found in their private land grant records and in some of the records of the pueblos.

Urban life in those days, so far as can be learned, was a rather routine existence for the women, but the rancho life was so out-of-ordinary as to make possible the determination of norms for the selection of prominence. To secure a land grant a petition was required with a *diseño* or map showing its location; after the gathering of local information as to the land and the petitioner's need, stock, and ability to occupy, the governor made the concession with the approval of the District Assembly; possession was given, on petition, by the nearest *alcalde* who measured the land and gave the juridical possession; within one year the land must be occupied with stock and a house. This was a man's world but women did participate, and therein may be found the norms for prominence—(1) the petitioning for and the receiving a grant of land, (2) the size of the grant, (3) its location, (4) its occupancy, (5) the claim for it before the American tribunals, (6) the confirmation and reception of a patent, (7) the giving of the testimony in the private land grant cases, and (8) literacy.

With these norms the following, women may be mentioned as prominent in the provincial days.

I. MARIA RAMONA DE LA LUZ CARRILLO DE WILSON on April 6, 1837, received, on petition, from Governor Alvarado rancho Suey, 11 leagues in present Santa Barbara and Los Angeles Counties. She was the daughter of Joaquin Carrillo and Maria Ignacia Lopez de Carrillo of San Diego and of Cabeza de Santa Rosa in Sonoma County, and sister of the wives of General and Salvador Vallejo, and Henry D. Fitch. After the death of her husband, Romualdo Pacheco, she married John Wilson in 1835, who at the time of her petition for Suey was already the grantee of Guilicos, four leagues, in Sonoma County. It was not until 1842 that the juridical possession of the land was given to her with her husband receiving the land for her by walking over it, pulling up grass, scattering earth and breaking branches of trees. The land was patented to her on August 10, 1865, for 48,834.27 acres.¹

II. JOSEFA SOTO DE STOKES was the grantee, on petition, of Capay, 10 leagues, on the west side of the Sacramento River astride the present county lines of Glenn, Tehama, and Butte. She was born in California, the daughter of the late Damasio Soto and Maria

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Antonia Alviso, both native Californians. On June 5, 1844, as a widow she signed the petition with her own hand. She had a "certain amount of black cattle and horses" and needed for them pasturage which was not available near her home in Monterey. On the basis of the report of Captain Sutter the occupancy was conceded. The usual juridical possession was not given but she took possession at the very end of the same year. Due to the distance from Monterey and from the protective outpost of Captain Sutter at New Helvetia her occupancy was by a proxy who built the house, corral and introduced the stock. Her agent was Wm. H. McKee who hired a Mr. Bryan to build the adobe house at the cost of \$400. In 1852 she presented her claim for the land to the American tribunal and on August 18, 1859, the patent was issued to her for 44,388.17 acres.²

At the time of her grant only five concessions had been made beyond her to the north, three of them a few days before her grant, one five months and one seven months before; three of them were just half the area of Capay and the other two were for six leagues each. Her late husband was evidently of American origin and was associated with the other foreigners who received grants along the Sacramento and Feather Rivers; it may be that Stokes, before his death, had selected and taken the preliminary steps for receiving the grant; at any rate she is one who carried through the man's work from the petition to the patent.

III. MARIA ANTONIA PICO DE CASTRO, the widow of Simeon Castro who died sometime before October, 1842, was the grantee of Bolsa Nueva del Cojo y Cañada de San Miguel, eight leagues, in Monterey County, on September 20, 1844, six days after she had made her petition through her son Manuel. Since 1824 five grants had been made of this land by four different governors. On the rancho she had an adobe house and several small houses for her servants, corrals, stock of cattle and horses, and some fields under cultivation. The land was patented to her and the heirs on November 20, 1876, for 30,901.34 acres.³

IV. ISABEL YORBA was of Mexican birth about 1806 and widow of Lieutenant Joaquin Maitorena of Santa Barbara. As early as May 6, 1836, Governor Chico granted her the rancho Guadaluasca and the following year Governor Alvarado added an augmentation,

making a total of seven leagues; it was along the coast south of Ventura among the several ranchos in the area from north of Mission San Buenaventura along the coast south to San Diego. The petition for the grant was for herself and her family, and she occupied it in 1836. She had 500 head of cattle, 40 horses and some mares, later increased to about 900 cattle and 150 horses. She had no children of her own but had adopted four orphans. The "informe" speaks of her good character, her stock, and her ability to occupy the land. In 1837 she had her stock on the grant, built a *palizada* house and the following year an adobe. In 1855 a witness in the claim case stated that for three years she had been living in Santa Barbara instead of on the rancho; nevertheless she claimed the land from the United States and it was patented to her on September 1, 1873, for 30,593.85 acres.⁴

V. MARTINA CASTRO received two grants of land—Soquel, half league on November 23, 1833, from Governor Figueroa, and Soquel Augmentation, about 6½ leagues, on January 7, 1844, from Governor Micheltorena, both lying northeast of Santa Cruz. She was the daughter of invalided Joaquin Castro of Branceforte, who was "one of the founders of the town." Her husband, Michael Locke (also written Lodge), an Irish carpenter and rancher, petitioned for and received from the *alcalde* Sanjon del Rio de Soquel for himself, wife and two children and two stepchildren, but died before the concession could be made; two months later the grant was made to her and the next year the formal juridical possession was given to her personally by "entering on the land, walking over it, breaking off branches of trees, picking up handfuls of earth and throwing stones to the four winds." In fact she was living on the land before the concession was made; she had a house, corral, cattle, and horses; her stock increased to the extent that ten years later she petitioned for and received the augmentation. After the latter concession Governor Micheltorena ordered Henry Cambuston to survey the four leagues for the Villa de Branceforte and also survey the new grant for Martina Castro; the Frenchman was unable to perform either task due to the winter weather, rains, no boats available, and other troubles. However, her claims for the two grants were approved by the courts and the patents issued, one on March 19, 1860, for

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1,668.03 acres and the other on the same date for 32,702.41 acres, lying mostly in present Santa Cruz County.⁵

VI. MARIA DEL ROSARIO ESTUDILLO was the wife of Jose Antonio Aguirre who at San Diego on January 19, 1846, made his petition to Governor Pico for a grant of San Jacinto Sobrante, five leagues in Riverside County, for his wife. The concession was made to her on May 9, 1846. She was the sister of Jose Antonio Estudillo who was conceded San Jacinto Viejo four years before; and since 1844 her later grant had been occupied with 900 head of cattle but nothing has been learned of the personal part she played on the rancho. It was patented to her on October 26, 1867, for 48,847.28 acres.⁶

VII. VICENTA SEPULVEDA was a Mexican by birth, a widow of Tomas Yorba in 1845 with several children. In October of this year her brother-in-law, Bernardo Yorba, petitioned for Sierra in Riverside County, a grant for himself and for his brother, Tomas, then about 20 years old. In the meantime she and her husband, before his death, had built houses, a corral and stocked their part of the grant with cattle. As a widow she personally lived on the rancho a short time, also married Ramon Carrillo, and petitioned Governor Pico for rancho Sierra or Sierra de Santa Ana, four leagues, in Riverside county; on June 15, 1846, the concession was made. After her claim was presented the grant was patented to her on April 28, 1877, for 17,774.19 acres a short time after her brother-in-law, Bernardo, had been patented the same amount.⁷

VIII. MARIA MANUELA VALENCIA DE BRIONES petitioned for and was granted Boca de la Cañada del Pinole by Governor Alvarado on June 21, 1842, three leagues. This grant was located in West Central Contra Costa County among a number of grants eleven of which were made before her concession and among them were the grants to two other women—Teodora Soto, noted below, and Juana Sanchez de Pacheco who died before her grant was patented.

Her husband, Felipe Briones, had occupied the land as early as 1829 and she since 1831, the first settlers in this area, and it was testified in the land grant case that she was on the rancho in 1828 and always occupied it, and after his death on January 6, 1840, she took over the management for herself and her large family. She

had five adobe houses, stock, corral, and an orchard of about 150 varas square or about four acres, and had made an annual harvest since 1832. Her claim for an American patent was recognized and it was issued to her on November 30, 1878, for 13,316.26 acres.

She was the sister-in-law of Juana Briones de Miranda, the most remarkable woman of provincial California, as noted below. She was also closely associated with Teodora Soto who, during her troubled career, was given permission to build an adobe residence on the rancho. After the death of her husband, Felipe Briones, she never married again.⁸

IX. TEODORA SOTO, grantee and patentee of Cañada del Hambre y las Bolsas del Hambre, was one of the most unfortunate women of the provincial days. She was probably born in the San Francisco Presidio early in the century and one witness in the land grant case recalled her as a child about 1808 or 1809. About 1829 or 1830 she married Guadalupe (also called Francisco) Barcenas, who, in a few years, retired because of illness after 10 years of military service, with more than half of his salary still due him. They lived for a while at Temescal on rancho San Antonio of Vicente Peralta in present Oakland; in 1839 they went to the rancho Cañada del Hambre, built a *palizada* house, corral, and fenced about two acres as a vegetable garden, and grazed their stock. Soon misfortune fell upon them; the Indians of this area, still somewhat hostile until the American days, stole some 50 head of his cattle; a grass fire destroyed their house and the pasture for their stock. With no means or money, part of the land seems to have been sold to General Vallejo, and they returned to Temescal where he worked as a *vaquero* for Peralta and also in the service of Mission San Jose. In 1842 he died from an accident with cattle or horses. The rancho had been granted provisionally by Governor Alvarado in 1838 but now, on May 8, 1842, after the death of Barcenas, the concession was remade to her for three leagues. Back on the ranch again she began life anew but spent part of her time on the rancho of her neighbor to the south, Maria Manuela Valencia in a *palizada* house she erected, and later on the Berreyessa brothers from Sonoma County began erecting for her an adobe house with the help of Indians from across the Bay, but when about half finished it was ruined by heavy rains.

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At an unknown date she married Disiderio Briones, brother-in-law of her friend Marie Manuela Valencia and brother of Juana Briones de Miranda. Apparently the marriage was not successful and she seems to have lived much alone. By some arrangement, not now clear, she built a *palizada* house on the Welch grant of Juntas in what is now the city of Martinez and lived there while building a nearby adobe in 1850; soon after its completion, however, she was ejected, and the "widow Soto," as she was now known, went to the upper and west side of the valley and built a house of poles and skins in 1853 or 1854, but just where is rather uncertain and is further confused with another "widow Soto" in the upper Alhambra Valley. The unfortunate Teodora was still alive in 1866 and her husband was in Bolinas in Marin County in the same year. The date and place of her death have not been learned. In 1852 she made her claim for the rancho and on December 31, 1866, the patent was issued to her for 13,353.95 acres.⁹

X. MARIE ANTONIO CAZARES DE DAWSON was a Mexican by birth, and widow of James Dawson, who started her petition in 1842 for rancho Cañada de Pogolome, two leagues, in Sonoma County on the north side of the upper course of the Estero Americano. Dawson, with Edward M. McIntosh and James Black were the three pioneers in this area; Dawson and McIntosh were the joint petitioners for rancho Cañada de Jonive but the grant was issued only to the latter who at that time was a Mexican citizen. Dawson, feeling that he had been betrayed by his partner, petitioned for the neighboring land of Cañada de Pogolome, and according to tradition sawed their joint wood house in two and moved his half to his land. A few weeks after the petition was written Dawson died and his widow carried on from that point and received the concession from Governor Micheltorena on February 12, 1844. She occupied the land with cattle and horses, and at one time had over 1,000 head. In 1846 she married J. C. Blame. Whether she alone or with her husband built some or all of the four frame houses, one adobe, and a saw mill on the grant is unknown, but she managed the rancho, and her claim was approved by the courts and a patent issued to her on November 3, 1858, for 8,780.81 acres.¹⁰

XI. APOLINARIA LORENZANA of whom very little has been

learned except that she was a spinster from the city of Mexico and had lived in California since about 1802, was granted provisionally, on petition, by Governor Victoria on December 1, 1831, rancho Jamachá, two leagues, in San Diego County, and in fee by Governor Alvarado on April 27, 1840. Governor Micheltorena also granted her Cañada de los Coches, also in this same county, but only 400 varas square. The latter grant she sold, before a claim could be made, to Anacleto Lestrade who claimed it and received a patent in 1873, for 28.38 acres. She occupied Jamachá the year of the grant, for herself and her family of which nothing has been learned. She had a house and stock on the land and lived there personally for a time while at other times it was in the care of a Major Domo especially in the years 1840 to 1847. The rancho was patented to her on April 11, 1871, for 8,881.16 acres.¹¹

XII. MAGDELENA ESTUDILLO received some sort of a grant for rancho Otay, two leagues, in San Diego County in 1829 and had occupied it since that year with stock and had built a house. Some unknown question arose to cause her to doubt the validity of the concession, so she petitioned again and received a new grant from Governor Pico on May 4, 1846. In 1855 it was testified that she lived on the land for 23 years at least part of the time; in her absence her servants took charge. Nothing further has been learned of her except that a patent was issued to her on January 20, 1872, for 6,657.98 acres.¹²

XIII. MARIA JOSEFA SOBERANES was the daughter of Feliciano Soberanes who petitioned for rancho Coches, two leagues in Monterey County, for his daughter on May 24, 1841; she had some 300 head of cattle at that time. Governor Alvarado made the concession to her on June 15, 1841, but two years elapsed before juridical possession was given. She married an Irishman called William the Red because of the color of his hair, but of her domestic relations very little is learned. The rancho, up the river and on the opposite side from Mission Soledad, was occupied with stock, a house, a corral, and cultivated fields, but on account of the unfriendly Indians she personally lived at the Mission. The patent was issued to her for the grant on February 10, 1871, for 8,794.02 acres.¹³

XIV. MARIA IGNACIA VERDUGO DE FELIZ was the widow of

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Sergeant Juan Feliz. Very little is learned of her. It appears that before his death he had verbally petitioned for a grant and that she and her son Juan Antonio also petitioned for it several times before the final grant was made by Governor Micheltorena on March 22, 1843, for $11\frac{1}{2}$ leagues which bore the name of the grantee, rancho Feliz, and lies between Los Angeles and Glendale. At the date of the concession she had long been a resident on the land whose location in relation to the pueblo lands had long been in doubt and thus caused the delay in the concession. On April 18, 1871, she was issued the patent for 6,647.46 acres.¹⁴

XV. JOAQUINA ALVARADO petitioned for and was granted Cañada Larga o' Verde, $11\frac{1}{2}$ leagues, in Ventura County, by Governor Alvarado on January 30, 1841. In the possession ceremonies she walked over the land, threw stones, and pulled grass. In the same year of the grant she occupied the land, erected an adobe house, had a corral for her cattle, and cultivated a small area. In the summer she lived on the rancho with her son and grandchildren, but in the winter she resided in Santa Barbara. She was issued the patent for the grant on March 26, 1873, for 6,659.04 acres.¹⁵

XVI. MARIA RITA VALDEZ DE VILLA was born in and was a resident of Los Angeles, and in the 1830's was the widow of Vicente Villa. In 1831 the pueblo *Alcalde* granted her a league of land called Rodeo de las Aguas in Los Angeles County, jointly to her and to Luciano Valdez—their relationship was not learned. Either she or Valdez had already occupied the land a few years, and by 1833 she was occupying the rancho with her large family, and with about 50 head of cattle and some horses; she built two houses in one of which she was still living in 1852. It is also indicated that she had a cattle brand; and that there were three springs on the rancho, which, through the *acequias* or ditches, provided plenty of water for her garden and for domestic use. The joint occupancy with Valdez did not prove harmonious. The partner was reported as "bad," had a house back of hers then built one in front, had to use the water from her well, had no stock of his own and borrowed her cows for milk, and opposed her planting grapevines. The trouble was settled by the *alcalde* in ousting Valdez, and Governor Alvarado granted

her the league of land in 1838 under the name of San Antonio. It was patented to her on June 27, 1871, for 4,449.31 acres.¹⁶

XVII. MARIA CONCEPCION BORONDA, in her petition for the Potrero de San Luis Obispo, one league, lying to the north of the city of that name, stated that she was a Mexican by birth, a resident of Monterey Presidio, and had 30 head of cattle and some horses. The grant was made to her by Governor Alvarado on November 8, 1842, with the understanding that the boundaries might be changed in case the land or some of it should be found to be within the limits of the pueblo lands. The *alcalde* took her by the hand, walked with her over the land and declared it hers; she "dug up earth, pulled up grass, and threw stones" in recognition of her ownership. She took some 300 head of cattle and 30 horses and mares to the rancho the year of the concession, erected a house, built a corral, and cultivated a small field. She also had a house in the mission town of San Juan. Her petition for a patent for the grant was approved and was issued to her on July 1, 1870, for 3,506.33 acres.¹⁷

XVIII. MARIA ANTONIA MESA DE SOTO, was the wife of Rafael Soto, a California artillery corporal, who in 1838 petitioned for Rinconada del Arroyo de San Francisquito, a half league in Santa Clara County, which they had been occupying for some two years by permission of the padres of Mission Santa Clara. After Rafael's death, before February 12, 1841, the widow petitioned for a grant for the land, which was made by Governor Alvarado on February 16, 1841, since the Mission after secularization had no further use for the area. She occupied it for herself and her children; she grazed her cattle, built a corral, cultivated wheat and potatoes, and probably just before Rafael's death an adobe house was erected; near this house was another of which nothing beyond its existence is known. Soon after her claim for the land to the American tribunal on May 22, 1852, she died (December 22, 1853) before the patent was issued on July 26, 1872, for 2,229.84 acres.¹⁸

XIX. CATARINA MANZANELI DE MUNRAS of Monterey petitioned on November 17, 1832, for Laguna Seca, a half league, lying a short distance east of the provincial capital. She had the means to support the rancho, to provide for her children and orphans; she wished to plant grain, fruit trees, vines, and kitchen garden. Within

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a few months she had spent some \$500 for improvements, including a wooden house. Since no reply had been made to her petition, in a short time she petitioned again, and this time the concession was made on May 18, 1833, providing it was not part of the pueblo land; if such proved to be the case she was to be repaid for her improvements. The final grant in fee was made on January 9, 1834, and juridical possession was given by the Secretary of State, Jimeno, beginning at 9 o'clock in the morning of September 11 of that year. She performed the usual ceremony of walking over the land, pulling up plants, breaking branches, and throwing stones in four directions. Very little is known of her, of her birthplace, and of the relations with her husband, Estavan Munras. It is indicated that she lived much of the time in Monterey; and either she lived apart from her husband or she managed the rancho for herself and family. The patent was issued to her on November 24, 1865, for 2,179.50 acres.¹⁹

XX. MARIA JUANA DE LOS ANGELES, was an Indian who petitioned for and received rancho Cuca, a half league, from Governor Pico on May 7, 1845. The land was on the north bank of the middle course of the San Luis Rey River in San Diego County. At the time of her grant only two grants had been made above her on the upper course of this river.

She was the widow of Casiano, Chief of the Indians, who had given long years of service to Mission San Luis Rey. For a number of years this land and the neighboring lands had been occupied by the Mission neophytes including Maria Juana and her husband. When she made the petition she had a large family and a large number of cattle and horses, and had built an adobe house and cultivated a field and a garden. Jose J. Ortega, the administrator of the secularized Mission property, gave her the juridical possession. The patent for the land was issued to her on July 22, 1878, for 2,174.25 acres.²⁰

XXI. BARCILIA BERNAL, a native of the pueblo San Jose, petitioned on October 20, 1844, for a 1,000 vara square of land at the mouth of the Guadalupe River, land that had formerly belonged to James Alexander Forbes, the British Consul at Monterey. Governor Pico made the concession on June 18, 1845. Several years before her petition she had occupied the land, had a house erected, also a

corral, had stock, a barn, farming utensils, and cultivated a small field. Among her several attorneys in the land case was Peter H. Burnett, the first governor of California. Her claim for the land was approved by the U. S. District Court on February 23, 1857, but the mandate failed to issue until almost a century later when it was issued *nunc pro tunc* on August 23, 1935, on the basis of which the patent was issued on October 28, 1936, for 196.25 acres, the last patent to be issued for a Spanish-Mexican private land grant in the State and next to the last litigation for a patent for a grant of Spanish-Mexican origin.²¹

XXII. VICTORIA REID was a San Gabriel neophyte known as Bartolome de Rei (Rey) who married, about 1843, Perfecto Reid, a native of Scotland. On October 12, 1838, Governor Alvarado granted her on her petition the Huerta de Quati, 850 varas square, which she had been occupying for some time with a house, a garden and some vines. About one year after her petition to the United States for a patent her husband died leaving her with a large family; on June 30, 1859, the patent was issued to her for 128.26 acres.²²

* * * *

The prominence of the following provincial women was determined by slightly different norms from the above.

XXIII. MARIE IGNACIA LOPEZ DE CARRILLO was from San Diego, a half-sister of Governor Pio Pico. Very little is found in the records regarding her life. On January 19, 1838, she petitioned (it was written for her by her son Joaquin) as a widow with five boys and four girls, for Cabeza de Santa Rosa in Sonoma County adjoining Guilicos a grant to her son-in-law John Wilson. Permission to occupy was granted by General Vallejo five days later and the full grant was made by Acting Governor Jimeno on September 30, 1841, for two leagues; on the last day of this year Salvador Vallejo gave her juridical possession—she broke branches, pulled up grass, and threw stones to the four winds. Also in this year of the provisional grant she occupied the rancho with stock and a house and later erected three very large adobes, two of which are still in existence and in use. Two of her daughters married the Vallejo brothers, the General and Salvador, another married John Wilson

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of Guilicos as mentioned above, and a fourth married Henry Fitch, grantee of nearby rancho Sotoyome. She died in one of her adobe houses about 1849 before she could make claim for the grant before the American tribunals; her six heirs and assigns received patents for the partitioned rancho from 1866 to 1881 for a total of 8,885.41 acres.²³

Though she did not live to complete the possession of her grant she may be regarded as one of the prominent women because of her rancho activity and of the marriage of her four daughters to prominent Californians of that day.

XXIV. JUANA BRIONES DE MIRANDA, the most prominent woman of provincial California, was born on January 9, 1796, at Monterey or Carmel, the younger of twins and was not expected to live. She lived also at the Polin Spring on the San Francisco Presidio, in an adobe house at Ojo de Agua de Figueroa (at Lyon and Green Streets, San Francisco), then in her adobe house at Powell and Filbert Streets in the same city, from which she moved to her rancho Purisima Concepcion in Santa Clara County where she lived until in advanced years she moved to Mayfield where she died on December 3, 1889, and was buried in an unmarked grave in the Menlo Park Cemetery.

Her domestic life was very unhappy, and she consequently petitioned the Bishop for permission to live separated from her husband, a San Francisco Presidio soldier. After several petitions she received an *alcalde* grant for her Powell Street land, and with the approval of Governor Alvarado she bought Rancho Purisima Concepcion, one league from the Indian grantees, which was patented to her on August 15, 1871, for 4,438.94 acres. On this grant she built an adobe house, still standing and in use, cultivated her fields and managed her stock. Her social services included assistance to deserting seamen, providing milk, vegetables, and Yerba Buena tea to callers, serving her neighbors in sickness and childbirth, giving testimony in the collection of data for the beatification of Padre Catalá. She was the only woman householder of Yerba Buena (now San Francisco) mentioned by witnesses in the private land grant cases. She was widely known as Juana Briones, Widow Briones or the Widow Aborona or Borona. Her traditional prominence can be

corroborated by available existing records. Her prominence is such and records available that her life is made the subject of a separate paper.²⁴

XXV. CARMEN CIBRIAN was the wife of Jose Bernal who was in San Jose in 1828 and Major Domo of Mission Dolores in 1834. Late in this year, 1834, she went to Monterey and petitioned the Governor for a house-lot at Mission Dolores, and in the middle of the following year Governor Figueroa delivered to her the concession for this lot but in the name of her husband. In the year of the grant they built a wood house in which she lived while erecting the foundations and walls for an adobe which, however, was never completed. In 1846 her house was robbed of valuables and of valuable records. In 1850 her husband died leaving her with one son. The lot was patented to her on June 13, 1882, for 5.86 acres.

Her prominence is due to the number of times she gave testimony in the private land grant cases before the Board of Land Commissioners. About 40 women gave testimony in these cases, 30 of whom were native Californians, and of these 30 she gave testimony in the record number of five different cases. She testified in 1854 as to the grant conditions between 1822 and 1839, as to the homes built, the corrals, cattle, fields, gardens, fruit trees, together with details as to the grant boundaries, indicating a keen observation and retentive memory. In the testimonies, between March and September, 1854, she gave her age 48, 49, and 50, indicating 1804 as the probable year of her birth at a place not mentioned. Of the 40 women witnesses in the land cases she was one of the 18 who was able to sign her name to the testimony; one of the 40 was able to read and write but did not sign and one made her mark in 1855 but signed her name two years later.²⁵

XXVI. CONCEPCION ARGUELLO was the daughter of the Comandante of the San Francisco Presidio, who in 1806 met the Russian Count Nicolas Petrovich von Rezanof, one of the Czar's Chamberlains and an envoy to establish trade relations with California. Their engagement seems to have had the sanction of her family and of the padres, and when he left the province on his return to Russia through Siberia to receive the approval of the Emperor for the marriage and return to California, he was stricken with a fever and

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died from its effects and from a fall from a horse. The news of his death did not reach Concepcion until years later. The story of this romance and her long wait for his return has continued on through the American period to the present.

* * * *

Of the 66 women grantees directly or indirectly connected with the provincial land grants, these 22 listed above, or about one third, carried the operation through from concession to patent for over 355,000 acres of land, or over 41% of the patented lands granted to women. Almost half of the number of women and half of the acres patented were located in the present 10 Southern Counties of the State, with the remainder, both in number of women and acres, about equally divided between the middle and northern parts of the State; San Diego County had four of these grants, and Los Angeles and Monterey Counties, three each. They were located from near Red Bluff to south of San Diego. Of the 66 women grantees 37 received full, half, a third, or a quarter of the grants issued but did not carry them through to a patent; in two cases the patents were issued to the heirs and five claims were rejected for patent by the courts as being without archival evidence. These 22 women grantees formed slightly over three per cent of the acres granted and over four per cent of the lands patented.

The blood relation of these women has not been learned in all cases. How Josefa Soto was related, if at all, to Teodora was not found; the same is true of the relation, if any, between Magdelana and Maria del Rosario Estudillo.

In conclusion: On the basis of the norms given, these 26 women stand out as the prominent members of the sex during the provincial days. The prominence is primarily due to their participation in the field of the men in the land occupation. There were no fields of literature, theatre, newspapers, education, or social work open to them; prominence was possible only in the field dominated by the men. No doubt there were others than these 26 listed but no documentary evidence is available by which to identify them. Undoubtedly tradition would indicate others if the traditions could be collected, identified, and checked for validity.

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

NOTES

1. Land case 14 SD. All these land cases are in the office of the U. S. District Court, San Francisco.
2. 42 N.D.
3. 98 SD.
4. 177 SD.
5. 299 SD, 343 ND.
6. 80 SD.
7. 362 SD.
8. 138 ND.
9. 308 ND, 87 ND, 205 ND.
10. 44 ND
11. 48 SD, 266 SD.
12. 66 SD.
13. 202 SD.
14. 133 SD.
15. 81 SD.
16. 371 SD.
17. 304 SD.
18. 129 ND.
19. 16 SD.
20. 281 SD.
21. 220 ND.
22. 171 SD.
23. 127 ND, 124 ND, 125 ND, 126 ND, 128 ND, 235 ND.
24. 130 ND. See separate paper.
25. 165 ND, 228 ND, 229 ND, 381 ND, 401 ND. Her name was not found in the Mission Dolores baptismal records; she was baptized in Mission San Juan Bautista on April 15, 1804.



The Life and Death of a Quicksilver Mine

By Helen Rocca Goss

PART I—THE MINE AND ITS SETTING

IF AN AVERAGE CALIFORNIAN should be asked to describe the life in a mining town of the gold rush era, he probably could give a reasonably satisfactory reply. He has, at least, been exposed for a good many years to a wealth of interesting and readable material on the subject, although the sources have by no means been exhausted. But if you were to ask that same Californian to give an accurate picture of the life in and around a typical quicksilver mining camp, his answer would, I believe, be far more vague—and justifiably so, since so little has been written on the subject, except for reports that are too technical for the general reader.

It has seemed to me, therefore, that I may be able to fill that void to some extent by describing what one might call “the life and death” of one of California’s best known mines—the Great Western Quicksilver Mine in southern Lake County, where my father, Andrew Rocca, was superintendent from September 12, 1876, to May 1, 1900. The word “death” should not be taken too literally, because, like old soldiers, quicksilver mines “never die.” They, too, “just fade away” for a time, but they have a way of springing to life again whenever war or the threat of war increases the demand for mercury to such an extent that even worked-over ground or low-grade ore can be mined at a small profit. Life and death, then, are used in the sense of the boom years, the years of

peak production, followed by the decline to a lower level of output. As it happens, the years of greatest production at the Great Western coincided almost exactly with the nearly quarter century of my father's superintendency.¹

The quicksilver mines of California had their two most active production periods of the nineteenth century from 1861 to 1869 and from 1875 to 1883. Cinnabar, however, was known in the state long before gold rush days.² In his *Quicksilver Resources of California*, Walter Bradley writes that "The first known occurrence of quicksilver within the area of the United States, was that found at the New Almaden mine in Santa Clara County in 1824 by Antonio Suñol and Louis Chaboya," and that "the New Almaden was the first producing quicksilver mine in North America."³ Development work was started at the Almaden as early as 1845, but it was not until after California was admitted to the Union that the great production days of that very rich mine took place.⁴

So far as the quicksilver mines of Lake County are concerned, prospecting and development began in the early 1860's, and the Abbott Mine was producing by 1870. It was not until 1873, however, — the year the Great Western started producing — that the mining deposits in the area began to assume proportions of any consequence. There are four recognized quicksilver districts, located either wholly or partially in Lake County, and the Great Western is in the largest of those districts—the Mayacmas district in southwestern Lake County and extending into northeastern Sonoma and northwestern Napa Counties.⁵ The mine itself, at an elevation of 1,860 feet, is four miles southwest of Middletown and sixteen miles from Calistoga.

When my father took up his post at the Great Western in 1876, the mine was approached from the San Francisco Bay area, a little over eighty-five miles distant, by a branch of the Southern Pacific Railroad, winding up the beautiful and fertile Napa Valley, famous throughout the world today for its fine wines. The line extended from Vallejo Junction, by way of Napa and St. Helena, to Calistoga at the head of the valley.

From Calistoga the traveler bound for Lake County proceeded by stage over the wooded slopes of Mount St. Helena, the highest



—Photo from the Author's Collection

ANDREW ROCCA

*About the time he became
Superintendent of the
Great Western Mine*



—Photo from the Author's Collection

MARY THOMPSON ROCCA

*Shortly after her marriage
in 1880.*



—Photo Courtesy Alden Spiers

TYPICAL FREIGHT TEAM AND WAGONS

*This photo gives an excellent idea of the rugged terrain
on "over the mountain" road to the mines.*



—Photo Courtesy Alden Spiers

CALISTOGA-LAKE COUNTY STAGE COACH

*Picture taken on the Napa County side of
Mount St. Helena.*



—Photo from the Author's Collection

GREAT WESTERN MINE EMPLOYEES, 1879

Andrew Rocca (far right, wearing white shirt, dark suit, boots and hat) with his employees and their families at the Great Western Mine. This picture is of especial interest because of the well-known Chinese fear of being photographed alone—a fear which apparently did not extend to a group photograph.

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peak in some miles, the mountain Robert Louis Stevenson called "the Mont Blanc of one section of the Californian Coast Range" and made famous in *The Silverado Squatters*.⁶ The road over Mount St. Helena reached its highest point of 2,960 feet at the Toll Gate, where the celebrated old Mount St. Helena Inn was located.⁷ Today, the public road over Mount St. Helena is a graded mountain highway with numerous well-banked curves, each affording some charming view of the mountain itself or a magnificent panorama of the enchanting valley below. The old private toll road, however, followed a slightly different, though equally scenic route, and there was a long and steep grade on either side of the summit. Thus, whether entering or leaving Lake County, there was always a grueling pull for the endless succession of horses which (in the days before the automobile came to their relief) toiled and sweated and sometimes dropped dead in the traces as they hauled the heavily-laden freight wagons or the sardine-packed stages "over the mountain." What onerous lives those animals led is evident from many newspaper items of the day. On January 30, 1878, for example, the *Calistogian* reported that:

Four six-horse teams arrived in town on Monday evening, having been over a week coming from Sulphur Bank Quicksilver Mine, a distance of forty-five miles. They report the road is in an extremely bad condition . . .

Again, on March 13, 1878, another item appeared to the effect that eight hundred flasks of quicksilver were either at the Sulphur Bank Mine or along the road between there and Calistoga because of "the impassable condition of the roads." And the *Calistogian* of September 1, 1880, contained this item:

Billy Spiers came into town yesterday with 13,600 pounds of wheat on one wagon, the grain having been brought from Middletown. Six horses were used to draw the load to the Toll House, and from there to Calistoga four horses were employed.

Even more significant, perhaps, is a statement in the *Calistogian* of June 23, 1880, made by the proprietor of the stage line and the livery stable in Calistoga — a statement which confirms the heavy toll of horseflesh taken by those two enterprises:

W. F. Fisher, the well known stage proprietor and owner of the Lodi Livery Stable, says he has hauled from his stables to the haven of rest for broken down horses twelve thousand dollars worth of stock during the past twelve years, as his books show, an average of one thousand dollars per year. In this haven of rest thus reposes a large share of the proceeds of his business.

There are other newspaper items showing that the bad roads made the lives of the teamsters extremely hazardous, too. Thus, the *Calistogian* of May 26, 1880, describes a fatal accident on the Toll Road. As Charles Turner of Lower Lake was driving a six-horse team hauling sixty flasks of quicksilver to Calistoga, the wagon struck a large stone in the road. Turner was thrown to the ground, held onto the reins, and one of the wheels ran diagonally over his body. He was able to get up but fell to the ground again and died within a few hours.

The trip over the mountain was at times almost as uncomfortable for a passenger in the coach as it was for the horses drawing it or for the stage-drivers or the teamsters. In 1879, Mabel Boyd, a school teacher friend of my mother's, wrote a letter giving this account of a trip from Middletown to Calistoga:

I . . . [thought] that old stage would jolt me right to death, coming down St. Helena Mountain on this side. I sat there braced, with not a thing to hold on to. Once I grabbed hold of the men on each side of me and it scared me so to think what I had done that I immediately relinquished my hold and trusted to Providence the rest of the way; but I had to brace so hard that I could hardly stand when I got to the Hotel. I went and got . . . a room and then went to bed and remained there until it was real dark.⁸

An eye-witness account of the speed with which the stages descended the mountain on either side, once they had reached the summit, makes it clear why Miss Boyd "had to brace so hard" that her legs would scarcely support her when she reached Calistoga. In 1878, the editor of the *Calistogian*, J. L. Multer, wrote a detailed article on a trip he and a companion had taken to the Great Western Mine. On the behavior of the stages and their drivers on Mount St. Helena, Multer commented in part as follows:

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When about half-way up the mountain, and just before making a turn in the road, our attention was attracted by a rumbling noise, and in less than half a minute around the curve came Jim Stewart rushing down the mountain with the Harbin Springs stage, and four horses, at a fearful rate of speed, passing and enveloping us in clouds of dust that were almost suffocating. On he goes, slam-bang down, down the mountain; now around short curves, then on the brink of an abysmal cliff, seemingly paying no more attention to the surroundings than if riding over a valley road . . . ?

Sometimes, too, particularly in summer, the stages were crowded to suffocation. The *Calistogian* of August 11, 1880, under the heading "Stow 'Em Away," quoted the *Lakeport Bee* as follows on the subject of "one of those stage loads of passengers now and then seen on Fisher's lines when travel is brisk:"

We are informed that Mr. Johns, stage driver on the Calistoga line, brought sixteen grown passengers over the St. Helena Mountain in a 11-passenger coach, on Friday, July 23d. We have had some good reports of stage loads this summer, but as far as heard from this caps the pile.

The destination of the stages on the other side of Mount St. Helena was the village of Middletown, nestled beside St. Helena Creek among the oaks in the Loconoma Valley, a village which served as an important stage junction for those travelers going to the various resorts and mines in Lake County, or to the towns of Lower Lake, Kelseyville, and Lakeport, the county seat.¹⁰ Middletown derived its name from its situation just midway between Calistoga and Lower Lake—sixteen miles from each. In the early 1880's, a Middletown correspondent of the *Santa Rosa Republican* wrote this description of the town:

. . . Besides the five stores and milliner shops previously mentioned, Middletown has five saloons, three blacksmith shops, two good hotels, a large livery stable kept by Sam Kenyon, a brewery owned by Herr Munz, a flouring mill run by J. Stoddard, late of Santa Rosa, two brick-yards, a small grave yard, and if all the goats that are roaming the streets were killed, a kid glove manufactory might be established.¹¹

As I have explained in an earlier article, the mine road branched from the Calistoga-Middletown road at what was known as the

"Western Gate," then climbed two miles farther over the steep grade of a part of the Ida Clayton Toll Road.¹² It was at the Gate, also called "Fisher's Station" in an early era, that mails for the Great Western (and passengers when they were expected) were put off to be picked up by some smaller conveyance from the mine.

"The Western," as it was popularly and affectionately called, was in beautiful wooded country. Stately old pines and tall, symmetrical firs predominated among the evergreens. There were junipers and tamaracks, too, several varieties of oaks, California laurels or bay trees, manzanitas, madroñas, and along the streams, alders entwined with wild grape vines. The area also abounded in wild flowers and in such flowering shrubs and trees as dogwood, toyon, fremontia, wild lilac, and, at lower elevations, redbud, for which Lake County has become renowned with its annual redbud festival. The land owned by the Great Western Mining Company consisted of almost an entire "school" section, one mile square with 640 acres on which the mine, furnaces, and other improvements were located, and immediately adjoining that section, another piece of land 720 acres in size "covered with a heavy growth of pine, fir, oak, madrone and other timber."¹³

When Andrew Rocca assumed his duties as superintendent in the autumn of 1876, the Great Western was still in its infancy, the company having been incorporated only a little over four years earlier, on August 8, 1872. Writing of those early years, Abraham Halsey, the secretary of the company, said: "The reduction of cinnabar or quicksilver ores, was at that time a comparatively new business in California, prosecuted in only two or three localities and little understood; the company therefore decided to erect a small ten-ton furnace, known as the Lockhardt furnace, which was completed in . . . October, 1873, and the reduction of ore commenced."¹⁴ He went on to explain that the expenses of the first fourteen months were covered by raising \$6,000 through the sale of shares of stock and set aside for working capital, to which was added \$35,500 realized by various assessments on the stockholders, making a total of \$41,500 capitalization. After that time, expenses and the substantial dividends paid came out of earnings. Following a long period of litigation over furnace patents, the controversy was

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finally settled in July, 1879, and the Great Western Company purchased the right to erect as many furnaces as it wished in the future. Until that time, however, operations were much impeded by the numerous lawsuits and the necessity to make constant changes in the furnaces to avoid infringement of patent rights and to comply with the court decisions.¹⁵

Soon after my father reached the mine he began sending for some of his faithful and able friends from his gold mining days. He and Secretary Halsey prevailed upon their mutual friend, David Risley (the three men had met in Tuolumne County in 1857), to come to the Western to manage the store, a position he held for more than twenty years. Another man who came from Tuolumne County was John Severio, a trusted employee at the Western for a number of years. Mr. and Mrs. Driscoll and their daughter, Kate, came from Shasta County to take charge of the boarding house, and Alfred Pryor soon came from the same place to act as clerk and time-keeper. During the period of about seven years, when he was what the newspapers frequently called "Andrew Rocca's right-hand man," there are almost as many items about Alfred in the *Calistogian* as about Andrew Rocca himself. The first issue of the paper on December 26, 1877, for example, carried an item about Pryor, "the genial and obliging time-keeper of the Great Western," passing through town on his way to Shasta "to spend a few days with his relatives." Pryor's sister, Hettie, later came to visit her brother at the Great Western, accepted a teaching position at Silverado on Mount St. Helena, and is the schoolma'am mentioned in *The Silverado Squatters*.¹⁶

Work at the Western in the 1870's centered around that part of the camp known as No. 2, which evidently took its name from the furnace of that number. All of the tunnels were designated by numbers, too, and there were eventually some twelve of them, as well as numerous small shafts scattered over the hillside even before the main shaft was sunk. The No. 2 section was reached by a road branching to the right from the Ida Clayton road at the point where the little mine store was located and near the site of two of the furnaces. At the time the Wilson report was prepared in 1879, the most important tunnels were Nos. 2, 3, 9, and 10. No.

9 was the mine's main working tunnel. It began a short distance from the principal furnace works and at such an elevation that the ore could be run in cars directly from its mouth to the tops of the furnaces. It was then about 2,000 feet in length, with tracks laid the entire distance, and it was "most substantially timbered with the very best of seasoned . . . fir," from two to four feet in diameter.¹⁷ A horse pulled the trains of cars in and out of the tunnel, and there were "switches, turn-outs and all conveniences for making up trains of laden cars from the various chutes and winzes along the vein."¹⁸

Shaft No. 6, the main shaft, was sunk vertically in the hanging wall to be more firm and secure. Since the hoisting works was not installed until around 1880, the shaft had to be sunk by hand windlass to a depth of nearly 200 feet. It was intended that the shaft should strike the ore vein at 150 feet, but it did so at 135 feet, and Wilson reported that when he inspected it "the bottom of the entire shaft was in ore."¹⁹ On the manner in which the shaft was sunk, my brother Andrew writes:

It was a fine piece of workmanship, cribbed solid with 10 by 12 inch timbers. The shaft was sunk in heavy, swelling ground, and any less substantial type of construction would probably not have been sufficiently durable to stand the test of time as that shaft has done.

After the installation of the hoist, the shaft was continued downward and eventually reached a depth of 750 feet. There were stations at the various levels—that is, at 150 feet, 250 feet, and 500 feet—with tunnels running for hundreds of feet into the hills. The most extensive workings at a later period were on the 500 foot level, and little really high-grade ore was found below that depth.²⁰

As older members of the family remember the shaft after the installation of the hoisting works, there were two compartments. The cage for the ore cars and the workmen was on one side, while a huge bucket to lift water out of the mine was in the other compartment. The long steel cables ran on drums and were connected with a clutch operation controlled by the engineer, so that the empty cage going down assisted in pulling the full bucket of water up, and vice versa. Watching the cables wind and unwind as the cages

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went up and down was an endless source of diversion for the children who lived at the mine.²¹

The hoist was run by steam boilers fired with wood. Since wood was also used in the furnaces, it required a large crew of men in the hills to keep sufficient fuel on hand for the plant, the boarding house, and the private dwellings. The wood was cut on contract, by the cord, and one of Andrew Rocca's duties was to "measure the wood"—a task he thoroughly enjoyed, especially after his children were old enough to accompany him on the necessary long walks into the woods and over the hills in performing that function.

Timber for the mine was another big item, and several six or eight-horse teams were always busy hauling wood, timbers, machinery, and other supplies. The wood-cutters were generally Italians, while the teamsters were all Americans.²² The sawmill which supplied the Western was about two miles from the mine on the Ida Clayton road. Originally the mill was privately owned, but in the spring of 1880 the superintendent was authorized to purchase it for the company, and thereafter he had charge of it as well as of the mine.²³ Logs were hauled to the mill by ox teams, six, eight, or ten big, rather ill-tempered animals working in pairs. Occasionally they escaped from their pens and terrorized mine residents, especially the children, who lived in mortal fear of them.

Heavy hauling was, of course, going on constantly, too, between the mine and Calistoga, since all mine supplies and the heavy machinery such as hoisting works, retorts, rock crushers, etc. had to be brought up over Mount St. Helena, while all the quicksilver produced at the mine had to pass over the mountain in the opposite direction. Frequent newspaper items in the 1880's and 1890's indicate how extensive the mine freight business was in that era. Thus, the *Calistogian* of October 8, 1879, reported that: "Billy Spiers finds it necessary, on account of improvements being made about the Great Western Mine, to put another four-horse team and wagon on the road for hauling freight." Two and a half years later, that business had become so heavy as to necessitate a repair shop at the mine, and the *Calistogian* of May 24, 1882, said:

Billy Spiers has established a shop at the Gt. Western Mine in which blacksmithing is done and the wood work of wagons repaired,

"Ves" Coltrin having charge of the forge while Oscar Ash does the wagon repairing. Most of the work is furnished by Spiers.

The *Calistogian* of January 27, 1892, contains an item about the arrival in Calistoga of one of the largest shipments of freight the Great Western ever had—fifteen tons of machinery, including an engine, boiler, air compressor, etc. The newspaper added that William Spiers' freight teams were then hauling the shipment to the mine. And the *Napa Register* of April 30, 1880, in an article on Calistoga and its environs said in part:

The prosperity of the town now depends not so much upon summer travel as upon the large quicksilver mines in Lake County, upon the farming country adjacent . . . and upon the large freighting business centering here . . . The large quicksilver mines in Lake County—the Great Western, Sulphur Bank and Oat Hill—now employing two or three hundred men, each freight their supplies through the town and the employees distribute considerable money at the stores . . .

As I have explained in an earlier article, most of the manual labor at the mine was done by Chinese, who lived in two camps, one near the store, the other on beyond the bottling works on a road leading to the left from the store.²⁴ The foreman, the office employees, the teamsters, the engineers, etc., made up the remainder of the employees—about twenty-five men, all of whom were white. Most of the married men had their families with them and lived in small houses scattered over the hills, several being located on a flat about half a mile down the road to Middletown. All of the other white men lived at the boarding house, an L-shaped structure on a steep hillside about half a mile to the left of the store. In addition to the bedrooms, kitchen, and main dining room, the boarding house had a small private dining room for the superintendent and the mine officers, quarters for the boarding house keeper and her family, and a hall, called "People's Hall," where informal dances and parties were held. Until the company built a home for him in 1881, the superintendent both lived and had his office at the boarding house, even for more than a year after his marriage.

In the early years of my father's superintendency, there were two shifts of twelve hours each at the mine—from 6 to 6—but later

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the work-day was cut to ten hours. Daylight saving, or "fast time," as it used to be called in the mines, was in force both summer and winter, and when first mentioned in a letter written in 1879, mine time was then 45 minutes ahead of Standard Time. The miners liked fast time, because in some seasons, at least, it gave them an opportunity to be above ground in early morning and late afternoon daylight, but it was not very popular with the children in the Rocca family on a cold, bleak winter morning when every one got up hours before daylight.

The miners carried candles for light in those days, and Andrew Rocca gave them out himself from large boxes to the shifts both morning and evening, along with the powder, fuse, and caps. Those supplies were kept in a locked building on a barren hillside near the shaft house.

There were large horse- and ox-barns at the mine, as old photographs show, and a small building near the store which served for a time as the mine butcher shop. The American-Chinese store, which began in a tiny room later used as a storage room for such things as flour and wheat, after the main building was erected, was not owned by the company but was the private venture of Andrew Rocca and Abraham Halsey. Back of the store building a tunnel, serving as a cellar, ran into the hill. It was cool and damp in the tunnel, even on the most torrid days in summer. Dark as a dungeon when closed up with the heavy, padlocked iron door, the tunnel served as storage space for all of the perishable goods, such as hams, sides of bacon, and tubs of butter.

In later years the steep open hillside above the store and the furnaces was almost barren of any vegetation because of the powerful fumes from the furnaces. In the canyon below the furnaces there were huge dumps—piles of burned rock which grew ever larger as the years slipped by. The first schoolhouse was located in the canyon below the boarding house, and later the hoisting works was in the same general area. In 1894 the small, inadequate school building in which my mother had taught before her marriage was supplanted by a larger and fairly modern structure. The new schoolhouse site was in a grove of small pines on the hillside below the superintendent's home.

Andrew Rocca's interest in water power and the knowledge he had gained from water systems during his more than twenty years in the Southern Mines stood him in good stead at the Western, where it was necessary to bring water long distances to supply the camp. At first this was done in open flumes, which were later replaced by underground pipes, the pipe itself coming all the way from Pennsylvania. There were two large reservoirs, a main covered one of concrete on the hill above the site chosen for the superintendent's house, a supplementary one on the road to the sawmill.²⁵

In the early days at the Great Western, the ore was dumped into bins for hand-sorting by Chinese workmen. They separated the coarse from the fine ore and broke up with sledges the pieces of rock too large for even the coarse-ore furnaces. The fine ore was often of a better grade than the coarse ore, but in this era there was only one ten-ton fine-ore furnace in which it could be burned. If burned in the coarse-ore furnaces, the fine ore would choke the fire and thus prevent the generation of sufficient heat to reduce the ore. To overcome the wastefulness of the coarse-ore furnace and avoid discarding the rich fine ore, briquettes, or adobes, called "dobes" by the miners, were made by using mud or clay and adding straw to bind the mass together into pieces about the size of a brick, which could then be burned. In the late 1870's some very rich ore at No. 2 was treated in this way, and the older children in the Rocca family remember playing in the dumps, finding these 'dobes and breaking them open to discover free quicksilver inside.²⁶

Soon after the Great Western Company won its court fight over furnace patents in 1879, a Litchfield fine-ore furnace was built at the mine. Editor Multer of the *Calistogian* seems to have taken a particularly keen interest in the construction of that furnace, reporting regularly on its progress. On July 14, 1880, for example, this item appeared in the newspaper:

Furnace to be Erected.—Mr. Litchfield, patentee of the Litchfield Fine Ore Furnace, accompanied by five workmen, came to Calistoga last Sunday and with special conveyance went up to the Great Western Mine, where they will again commence work on the furnace that has been in course of construction for several months past, its completion, however, being delayed for want of brick. These having been made, the furnace will now be finished.

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A little over a month later, in the *Calistogian* of August 18, 1880, Multer summarized a conversation he had had with Superintendent Rocca. "He informed us the furnace . . . will be completed about the first of next month. It is probably the largest furnace in the state," Multer said in part. The furnace was completed on schedule, and the christening ceremonies were described in a letter dated September 13th, signed "One of the Boys" and printed in the *Calistogian* of September 15, 1880. The festivities consisted of "popping the corks from . . . bottles of coal oil, etc., while the entire party were bent on 'drinking' to the success of the new Litchfield Fine Ore Furnace, which received its finishing touches, and was fired yesterday at 9:30 A.M." Litchfield, the letter said, claimed the furnace had "the greatest ore-burning capacity of any quicksilver furnace in the state, or probably in the world." A later letter of October 25, 1880, when the furnace was still in its trial stages, said: "Mr. Rocca . . . feels quite sanguine that it will reduce at least from forty-five to fifty tons in twenty-four hours, judging from the able manner in which it handles thirty-five tons at present."²⁷

For some time after 1880, there were five furnaces in operation—three of them for coarse, or uncrushed ore, two for fine ore. Later, there were only two coarse-ore furnaces and the Litchfield furnace, and in the early 1890's the latter supplanted the one coarse-ore furnace then in use.²⁸ For the benefit of the general reader, the differences between the two types of furnace were in brief as follows. The coarse-ore furnace was a shaft type of furnace, the fuel being first mixed with the ore and then burned. Later, the flame from the fuel originated in a fire box on one side and at the base of the furnace, then went through flues and on into the ore, finally going through the furnace and condensing system. The fine-ore furnace, an extremely important advance in mining technique, made possible the burning of fine ore without choking the fire and thus preventing reduction of the metal. This was accomplished by passing the fire under a staggered system of tiles, the ore sliding over the tile and in the process becoming sufficiently hot to be reduced. The first fine-ore furnace of any significance was the one patented by Litchfield. It was followed by the Scott furnace, an improvement and adaptation of the earlier design.²⁹

Another improvement which accompanied the fine-ore furnace, though it came at a little later date, was the installation of a rotary crusher, the strong jaws of the crusher pulverizing the ore into uniform pieces for burning in the furnace. The ore was run over screens, any piece too large to sift through then being put into the crusher. This eliminated the primitive earlier system of hand-sorting by the Chinese workmen.

The retort house contained long tables where the soot from the furnaces was worked out with lime to extract the free silver, which in turn ran from the tables to the big iron pot sunk in the ground. The pot had a cover which was always kept locked. When bottling day came, my father personally did the work. Using a dipper to lift up the heavy, silvery liquid — always with a faint trace of dark scum on top — he would pour it through a funnel into the strong iron flasks. The flask in most general use in those days weighed about 13 to 14 pounds when empty, and since it contained 76½ pounds of mercury at that time, it weighed about 90 pounds when full.³⁰ After the flask was filled, the stopper was inserted, sealed over and marked with an "X" in white lead. Each flask was also marked with a number and the initials of the company (GWMC), then they were stacked on their sides, ready to be loaded on the wagons for hauling to Calistoga and finally shipped by rail to San Francisco. There the quicksilver was marketed by the Newhall Company, members of which were connected with the Great Western Mining Company.³¹

Bottling day, as well as the mysterious and animated behavior of quicksilver at all times, were sources of fascination for the mine children.³² Though too young to remember that from the Great Western days, I do have the liveliest recollections of the bottling process at a later date at the Helen Mine. I remember, too, our absorption in watching the mercury running from the retort through a narrow trough into the heavy pot below—nothing at all happening for several moments, then a spurt of shiny liquid coming out in separate drops, which quickly coalesced and hurried on in a snake-like motion, dropping finally with a heavy plop into the iron container. There was also the childhood delight in finding a small amount of quicksilver accidentally spilled in the bottling process,

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taking a twig or a dry manzanita leaf to separate the mass into two or three drops, then making a passage through the soil for them to run together again. The failure of the bright little dots to sink into the earth and disappear as water would have done was an endless source of marvel to a youthful mind.

The days sped along busily for the superintendent but not without perplexing problems both above and below ground. The surface problems ran the gamut from frozen water boxes to disastrous fires which damaged or destroyed the compressor and the fine-ore furnace, from broken hoisting engines to severe wind storms. The underground difficulties ranged from dangerously gaseous air to serious accidents, involving not only the workmen but the superintendent himself, from a hampering flow of water in the tunnels to the dwindling of the ore body—on at least two occasions to the point where closing down completely was seriously considered. The extent of these problems is evident in many contemporary newspaper items, in entries in my mother's diary, or in the letters she wrote to her family through the years. In the spring of 1882, for example, she wrote of a serious injury her husband had had in the mine a few days earlier when "he was struck at the top of the hip bone with one of those immense timbers." She continued in part:

The timber fell several feet, and struck him with terrible force, but fortunately no bones were broken, but he is badly bruised, and of course received a terrible shock all over . . . He is directed by the doctor to remain in the house but is dressed, and would be walking around if the Dr. [sic.] would let him . . .³³

Again, on May 21, 1897, the *Calistogian* announced that A. Rocca was "recovering from the accident which nearly cost his life" and that he was "now able to attend to his duties at the mine." That accident was a long underground fall, probably in one of the winzes or minor shafts. And in April, 1892, he had a less serious accident in the mine when another timber fell on his foot.³⁴

Although the accident rate at the mine seems to have been low, considering the hazards of mining, the number of men employed, and the fact that many modern safety devices were then unknown, there were accidents, of course. The *Calistogian* of De-

cember 13, 1882, described a rather typical one involving George Porter, the foreman. Andrew Rocca himself missed being involved in that accident only because he was a few minutes late in going into the mine that day:

... While inspecting a piece of ground he was going to have timbered, in a part of the mine where the air is somewhat foul, his candle went out. While he was endeavoring to relight it, there fell without any warning whatever, a mass of rock weighing half a ton or more, a portion of which struck him, rendering him insensible for nearly an hour. A messenger was immediately sent to Calistoga for Dr. Gardner, who, on his arrival ascertained that Porter's injuries consisted of several scalp wounds, a badly bruised shoulder, a dislocation of the left ankle joint, a bone also being broken one and three-quarter inches above the same joint. The doctor rendered all assistance possible, and the patient is getting along well, though it will be some time before he will be able to resume work in the mine.³⁵

This description of an accident in which foul air was a contributing factor, leads to a discussion of some of the greatest difficulties the superintendent had to meet—that is, the intense heat on the upper levels, the bad air encountered, and the explosions which occurred periodically. On the 150-foot level there were places so hot that the men could work only a few moments at a time without rest. The extent of the bad-air obstacle and the fact that it was definitely associated with hot weather is indicated in numerous entries in my mother's diary. Thus, on August 19, 1892, she wrote: "Still very warm. Foul air in Mine, and men could not go in last night." The entry for July 8, 1893, reads in part: "Air in Mine bad for several days;" and on August 25, 1893, Mother said: "Air in Mine very bad at times. Shut out from stope for a long time." The June 9, 1893, entry reads: "Mine & tunnel been filled with gas. Mr. R. and Thos. Andrew in tunnel this morn . . ." My sister Florence remembers that both white and Chinese workmen were injured in the explosions and that once a Chinese died of burns within a few hours after such an accident. Following that or a similar explosion, the dangerous tunnel was closed off, the entrance was boarded up, and the door was nailed fast. Every one was given "No Trespassing" warnings, but a white workman disobeyed orders,

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broke down the door, and was severely injured in the ensuing explosion. Two members of the family remember Father's fury when he asked the man why he had done such a criminally stupid thing and received the reply: "Just to satisfy my curiosity."³⁶

It was to help meet the problem of bad air in the mine that a compressor was originally installed. Air was pumped into the mine for ventilation through a drainage tunnel, run in the early 1890's, and connecting with the mine on the 500-foot level. The drainage tunnel was about half a mile long, and its mouth was deep down in the steep canyon, far below the upper workings of the mine and not visible from the mine buildings proper. This tunnel presented a surprise when good ore was struck in it quite unexpectedly.³⁷

Although originally intended for ventilation rather than for drilling, apparently the compressor was being used as early as 1892 to operate machine drills. An article in the *Calistogian* of May 25th that year mentioned that a new tunnel at the Great Western had been run several hundred feet of the projected 6,000 feet, adding that since Burleigh drills were being used, the work was going forward very rapidly. Early in 1894, diary notations show that the compressor was being used then to operate air drills for prospecting. These diamond drills, as they are called, are long rods tipped with black diamonds. They cut out a core of rock the length of the drill to show what can be expected ahead. They were only in the experimental stage in 1894 and one diary entry says "D. drill a failure." They have been much improved and now perform effectively the work they are intended to do. My brother Andrew remembers that in the late 1890's two air drills "were used principally for breaking ore in the stopes, tunnels, and drifts, while a third was almost always occupied in development work and prospecting—'hunting for ore,' as Dad and other miners called it at the time." But by far the greater part of the ore mined during Andrew Rocca's superintendency was extracted through the use of hand drills.

As any one who knows California will readily understand, the forest fire hazard was ever-present at the mine during the long, dry summers, and the fear of fire was constantly in the back of Father's mind. Forest fires at the Western were a less serious menace than they were later at the Helen, but they caused concern from time to

time, and the *Calistogian* would report that a fire had destroyed "considerable peeled tanbark on the property of the Great Western Company," or that:

. . . Last evening the fire on Mt. St. Helena presented a fine appearance from the valley, and several people in town watched it until quite late . . . [Today] farther back, out of view from town over in the direction of the Great Western Mining Co.'s property, the flames are still at work.³⁸

Of more concern were the fires within the camp itself. As one would expect, fires broke out fairly often in the two China camps—the wonder is only that it did not happen more frequently, when so many small cooking fires blazed or simmered in the midst of a jumble of old wood. Items like this one appear now and then in my mother's diary: "January 3, 1891: Called up this morning at six by fire whistle. A small part of Chinatown burned. No other damage." The fires in the China camps at the Great Western seem to have been mostly "small blazes," but on January 20, 1892, Mother reported in her diary that "Oat Hill China Camp burned Mon. morn."

Occasionally the boarding house or a private dwelling caught fire, too, but these minor blazes paled into insignificance beside the fire of August 26, 1891, which burned the fine-ore furnace. Of that fire my sister Lillian writes:

Bee and I were at the sawmill with Dad the day the furnace burned. Just as we were starting home, black smoke poured around the hill. Dad knew what it must be, and the ride home was a very wild one! When we got near the scene of the fire, we found Mama helping to carry goods from the store up on to the hill by the Chinese camp. She was taking a bath when the fire whistle blew and slipping on only some outer clothing, dashed over to the store, which, however, did not burn. Some one took Bee and me home from where Dad left us in the road, and he rushed on down to the furnace.

The evening of the fire Mother wrote in her diary that it had been a "terrible fire & great loss," but the entires for the two following days indicate that the damage was a little less than originally feared. "Great destruction but brick work appears to stand

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firm," said the one of the 27th, "Furnace and condensers uninjured, but fear loss of Q. S.," the August 28th entry reads.

The *Calistogian* of September 2, 1891, said of the furnace fire: "The greatest loss is the loss of time," and that proved to be the case. After temporary repairs the furnace could be fired again two months later, but permanent repairs were necessarily slow. On this point my sister Florence writes:

They had to send to Scotland for tiles to re-build the furnace. On the voyage the vessel encountered heavy seas, the cargo shifted, and many of the tiles were broken. It was months before they could be replaced. I remember them arriving in crates, packed in straw.³⁹

The compressor building and machinery were also destroyed by fire on August 4, 1895, when the engineer, tempted by the hot weather, left the machinery untended and went swimming in a pool in the fishing stream some distance away. The loss from that fire amounted to \$5,000, according to the Middletown *Independent* of August 10, 1895.

Severe wind and rain storms often plagued the superintendent and caused serious damage. In a letter of January 15, 1880, to his fiancée, Andrew Rocca reported on the tragic results of one of the most serious of such storms:

On Friday last we had the most violent storm that I ever saw. It blew down [the] shed [at] No. 2 killing the two furnace men and badly hurting another. I came pretty near getting kill [ed] twice in the storm, once by a tree near the house and the other by the shed that killed the Chinamen.

In the 1890's a number of entries in my mother's diary relate to other serious storms. Thus, on November 30, 1892, she wrote: "Terrible windstorm all night, tunnel flooded, buildings unroofed;" on December 24, 1892, she said: "Terrible windstorm this forenoon. Buildings in danger & many trees blown down"; while the report for January 22, 1895, was: "The . . . storm continued all last night and until this eve. No mail. Highest water ever known."

Mother's letters and her diary often mention other varied problems demanding the superintendent's attention. He would be re-

ported as getting "the new hoisting works up & in motion," "unloading new engine & putting in another retort," or "putting fly-wheel in place"⁴⁰ Sometimes he was busy surveying, and once he was "writing Annual Report."⁴¹ In winter he was frequently concerned with "frozen water boxes," and during heavy storms sometimes had to go along the water ditches, even late at night. Once Mother wrote that: "Mr. R. went to lodge last night and on the ditch after he got home."⁴² Another entry reads: "Very cold. Mr. R. on water boxes all day, clearing out ice . . ."⁴³

Father's trips for business reasons took him regularly to Midletown, Lakeport, Calistoga, and San Francisco, occasionally to St. Helena, Napa, or Santa Rosa. Sometimes these trips made for a very long and exhausting day. On September 14, 1881, Mary Rocca wrote her family of a trip her husband had taken a few days earlier. Leaving at 4:00 o'clock in the morning, he had driven to Santa Rosa, transacted his business there, then driven home again by 7:00 p.m. of the same day after covering a distance of about sixty miles. And his mine inspection trips took him as far afield as British Columbia on the north, Mexico on the south. It was a full life, especially when to the usual routine were added such perplexing problems as I have discussed in two previous articles—coping with a cunning and ruthless band of cattle thieves, the loss of the payroll money in stage robberies, and keeping the peace among the various factions in the China camps.⁴⁴

This brief account has attempted to give a general idea of how the mine operated. The next section will describe the life of those who made up this self-contained community, while the concluding part will discuss the varying fortunes of the mine through the years.

To Be Continued

NOTES

1. As in several previous articles appearing in the *Quarterly*, I have had great assistance from five members of my family who have not only reminisced to me in long conversations but have given me detailed written statements as well about many aspects of the mine and the life there as they knew it. Later, all of them read and sent me their comments on the first draft of the manuscript, the statements of each thus being checked against the memories of the others. The names of those members of the Rocca family who assisted me and the dates of their statements or letters are as follows: Lillian L. Stewart of San Diego, March 22, 24, 1945, June 28, 1947; Florence G. McFarling of Ukiah, February 18, 20, June 21, September 14, 1947; Idalene B. McCollum of Healdsburg, June 30, 1947, January 19, February 23, April

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- 1, October 4, 1948, February 25, 1949; Andrew Rocca, Jr. of South San Francisco, May 18, June 7, July 14, 1947, February 23, March 14, August 24, 1948, June 20, September 21, 1949, January 18, 24, 1957; and Bernard T. Rocca of Berkeley, March 8, 1947, April 4, November 18, 1948. In subsequent notes only the initials and last name of the person supplying the information will be used to identify those statements. The descriptions of the mine buildings, the superintendent's home, the garden, etc., in Part II of the article are a composite picture in which all shared, so, in an attempt to limit the number of notes, I have not identified the sources. Another invaluable source of information for me has been the diary which my mother, Mary Thompson Rocca, kept consistently from January 1, 1891, to July 19, 1896, with a few entries after that date. In later notes it will be cited as M. T. R., *Diary*, and the date of entry.
2. Joseph Murdoch and Robert W. Webb, *Minerals of California*, California Division of Mines Bulletin No. 136 (San Francisco, June, 1948), p. 108. The authors add: "The most important quicksilver deposits lie in the Coast Ranges . . . Lake, Napa, Santa Clara, and San Benito counties have been most important in the mining of cinnabar."
3. Walter W. Bradley, *Quicksilver Resources of California*, California State Mining Bureau Bulletin No. 78 (San Francisco, May, 1918), p. 154.
4. *Ibid.* Bradley notes that gun barrels served as the first retorts at the New Almaden and states that from 1850 to 1918 more than a million flasks of quicksilver were produced in Santa Clara Co., "the greater portion of which came from the New Almaden mine." George F. Becker in *Geology of the Quicksilver Deposits of the Pacific Slope*, U. S. Geological Survey Monograph XIII, 1888, p. 11, gives the total production at the New Almaden from 1850 to 1886 as 853, 259 flasks.
5. Bradley, *op. cit.*, p. 30. He describes the district as follows: "The Mayacmas district is so called from the Mayacmas Range of which Mount St. Helena and Cobb Mountain are the most prominent points. It embraces parts of Napa, Lake and Sonoma counties . . . The quicksilver deposits are found on both sides of the range, the main belt crossing it near Pine Mountain between Mount St. Helena and Cobb Mountain . . ."
6. Actually, however, Cobb Mountain, between Middletown and Kelseyville, with an elevation of 4,722 feet, is nearly 300 feet higher than Mount St. Helena. Stevenson, who mistook the red soil of the mountain for cinnabar, makes a number of wholly inaccurate statements on the subject—such as "the soil, where it is bare, glows warm with cinnabar." If that statement were true, Silverado would hardly have been the deserted camp Stevenson describes!
7. In the late 1870's and up to October, 1880, L. M. Corwin was proprietor of the Inn and Toll House, although it was owned by John Lawley. After Corwin moved to San Francisco, Lawley's daughter, Mary Lawley Patten, and her husband Dan took charge of the place in January, 1881. *Calistogian*, Oct. 27, 1880; Ralph H. Cross, "Biographical Sketch of Mary Frances Lawley Patten," in Napa County Historical Association *Bulletin*, 1955.
8. Mabel Boyd to Mary R. Thompson, Nov. 8, 1879.
9. "Traveling in the Mountains," *Calistogian*, Sept. 18, 1878. Multer founded the newspaper as the *Independent Calistogian* in 1877 and continued as its editor until 1892. In 1895 C. A. Carroll became editor and publisher and the newspaper has remained in the Carroll family ever since, changing its name to the *Weekly Calistogian* in 1896.
10. Middletown had its real beginnings in a little settlement, no longer in existence, called Guenoc in the Coyote Valley. Later the whole village was moved to the site of the present town. In the middle and late 1870's, heavy staging and freighting were carried on between Calistoga and the Lower Lake area, where there were borax and sulphur, as well as quicksilver, mines.
11. Reprinted in *Calistogian* of May 25, 1881.
12. Helen Rocca Goss, "Highwaymen in the Quicksilver Mining Region," *The Historical Society of Southern California, Quarterly*, Vol. XXXVII, No. 3, Sept. 1955, pp. 223-242. Since that article discusses the events connected with pay day at the mine, reference to that subject has been omitted from this article.
13. Abraham Halsey and R. M. Wilson, *Description of, and Report upon the Great Western Quicksilver Mine and Property, in Lake County, California, December 10, 1879* (San Francisco, 1879). This report on the mine is full of valuable information about titles, patents, length and location of tunnels, furnaces, wood supply, etc., at the time. The report is in two parts, the first prepared by Secretary

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- Halsey of the Great Western Company, the second by Wilson, who was a mining engineer. The quotation here is from p. 48 of the Wilson section of the report. In future notes the report will be cited as either "Halsey Report," or "Wilson Report," and the page number.
14. Halsey Report, p. 28. Dividends totaling \$187,500 had been paid up to the time the report was prepared.
 15. *Ibid.*, pp. 33-34. The Lockhardt furnace was the only one at the mine until September, 1874, when the Green furnace No. 1, with a 25-ton capacity, was installed. Green furnace No. 2 was completed in July, 1875, and the old Lockhardt furnace was then torn down. Green furnace No. 3, completed in October, 1875, increased capacity to about 75 tons a day. In 1876 a 10-ton Livermore fine-ore furnace raised the capacity to 85 tons a day. Commenting on the hampering effects of the litigation, Halsey noted that since the company had been free from that handicap "the yield has increased over 250 flasks per month and shows more fairly what the property is capable of producing."
 16. She is identified in Anne Roller Issler's *Our Mountain Hermitage* (Stanford, California, 1950), p. 109, where, however, both of her names are misspelled—she is called Hetty Prior there. That she herself spelled her name Hettie Pryor I am sure, since I have in my possession a letter she wrote to my mother in 1879, and also because I met and interviewed her in 1937 in San Francisco.
 17. Wilson Report, p. 53.
 18. *Ibid.*
 19. *Ibid.*, p. 54.
 20. F. G. McFarling.
 21. A. Rocca, Jr., F. G. McFarling.
 22. There were many teamsters through the years, of course, but members of two families served in that capacity for long periods of time. They were John and Peter Hale, E. E. Myers and his sons, Clarence and William Jesse. Shortly before his death in September, 1956, our old friend Jesse Myers wrote me something of his impressions of the Great Western when he went there to work in 1897. There were twenty-three families living there then, he said, and about thirty single men.
 23. Wilson Report, p. 48, and letter of Mar. 20, 1880, Andrew Rocca to Mary R. Thompson. In that letter Father said: "Today I bought the saw mill for the company. I will have to run it in conjunction with the mine. So you will see that I will have more to see to than I had before, but I can do it."
 24. Helen Rocca Goss, "When East Was East in the Old West," *The Historical Society of Southern California, Quarterly*, Vol. XXXVI, No. 4, Dec. 1954, pp. 293-311. When production was at its peak at the mine there were from 200 to 250 Chinese employed. The article just cited gives a detailed account of their camps, the Chinese section of the store, their New Year's celebrations, etc.
 25. F. G. McFarling.
 26. F. G. McFarling, A. Rocca, Jr. The Wilson Report (p. 53) commented on that subject, noting that the company had not had sufficient capacity to reduce its fine ore and that during the winter, when only a few adobes could be made, thousands of tons of ore frequently accumulated.
 27. Printed in *Calistogian* of Nov. 3, 1880. In a letter of Sept. 19, 1880, to her family, Mary Rocca said: "I am so glad the furnace is finished for Mr. R. has been so busy and every moment of his time has been taken up all summer."
 28. Halsey Report, pp. 33-34, F. G. McFarling. Some of the highest grade ore was burned not in the furnaces but in the retorts.
 29. A. Rocca, Jr.
 30. There were several different types of flasks used and some were much lighter than the figures given here. The French flask, which my brother Andrew describes as "very nicely constructed and of good material, bell-shaped on one end," weighed only from 5 to 8 pounds. Until 1904, a flask of quicksilver in this country contained 76½ pounds of mercury, to compete with the European flask, where the metric system was used and the content was just over 76 pounds. From 1904 to 1927 the content of a flask of quicksilver was 75 pounds, an amount that was finally given up as impractical, because it fell too far short of the European flask and thus required too great calculations for buyers. In 1927 the Quicksilver Producers Association set the amount at 76 pounds for all domestic production, and that is the figure which has been used ever since. I am indebted for this information to Andrew Rocca, Jr. and his friend, Mr. Gordon Gould, of San Francisco, whose family has long been associated with the quicksilver industry in California.

The Life and Death of a Quicksilver Mine


31. F. G. McFarling. The notices of quicksilver shipments from the various mines in the issues of the *Calistogian* included the name of the marketing agency in San Francisco. Thus, the Great Western produce was shipped to the H. M. Newhall Co., the Sulphur Bank shipped its quicksilver to Parrott & Co., and the Napa Consolidated shipped to D. Meyer.
32. As I said in the article on the Chinese, pay day was of great interest to the children, too, and in our family the final act that evening came when all the men had been paid off and Father gave each of his children a quarter, their monthly allowance. "And how we hoarded those quarters." Florence writes, "for something we wanted, usually to buy a birthday or Christmas present for some one else. The mine store carried little to tempt us, since we weren't allowed to chew gum and ate candy only at Christmas or when Mr. Palache or Mr. Halsey brought us luscious boxes of 'Maskeys' from San Francisco."
33. Mary T. Rocca to Amanda and John Thompson, Mar. 19, 1882.
34. M. T. R., *Diary*, Apr. 29, 1892. The most serious accident in the family happened not underground but in a runaway on Mount St. Helena. In January, 1899, when Mother, Father, Idalene, and Bernard were on their way to Calistoga in a buggy drawn by a pair of skittish horses from the Middletown livery stable, the breast-strap broke on the steep grade on the Napa side of the mountain. The tongue fell to the ground, the horses started to run and kick, and Father was thrown out, taking the reins with him. Mother and the children were all thrown out two or three hundred feet farther on. The children escaped with skins and bruises and Father with a bad back and shoulder wrench. But Mother suffered what Idalene describes as a "terrible jagged cut from the hair line in the center of her forehead across to her right eyebrow"—an injury requiring six stitches and which was believed to have been at least partially responsible for the cerebral hemorrhage that caused her death about seven years later. Mary T. Rocca to Amanda and John Thompson, Feb. 1, 1899; I. B. McCollum; B. T. Rocca; *Calistogian*, Jan. 27, 1899.
35. Mother, too, wrote of that accident in letters to her family on December 12, and 18, 1882. In the second letter she wrote of the extra burden the accident had placed on her husband. "The hoisting engine broke today and Mr. Rocca is in the Mine [this evening] having it fixed. He is doing double work since his foreman is disabled and is away from early in the morning until night being in the house only long enough to get his meals. I am so sorry to see him work so hard."
36. I. B. McCollum, Andrew Rocca, Jr., *Calistogian*, May 6, 1898. Safety lamps, which had screens over the open flame, were tried, found helpful, and used whenever gas was suspected.
37. M. T. R., *Diary*, Sept. 26, 1892; May 23, 1893.
38. *Calistogian*, Aug. 18, 1886.
39. The entries in my mother's diary for Mar. 2, May 11, 1893, indicate that the tiles were not replaced until that time, thus bearing out Florence's memory.
40. Mary T. Rocca to Amanda and John Thompson, Feb. 10, 1884; *Diary*, Jan. 17, Feb. 9, 1892.
41. M. T. R. *Diary*, May 5, 1894; Oct. 28, 1895.
42. *Ibid.*, Jan. 5, 1895.
43. *Ibid.*, Dec. 24, 1891.
44. These articles are cited in notes 12 and 24, above.

Errata

We apologize for the misspelling of the names of the following of our members in the March issue: Mrs. John Edward Gaunt, Walter S. Hilborn, A. L. Leatart, Mrs. Charles M. Masson, Raymond K. Morrison, Vera C. Roush.

A. P. Giannini *and the* 1934 Campaign in California

By Russell M. Posner

HE STORY OF UPTON SINCLAIR'S EPIC campaign for the Governorship of California in 1934 is well known and has often been retold. However, the role of A. P. Giannini, the leader of California's greatest financial institution—the Bank of America—in the election has not been discussed. Giannini was a key man in an extraordinary effort by high Federal officials to persuade the legally nominated Democratic candidate for Governor to withdraw from the race. This episode involved the leading figures in California politics but was almost totally unknown to the public at large.¹

In 1934, the Democratic party had high hopes of winning its first California gubernatorial victory in forty years. It was a time of economic stagnation and mass unemployment in the Golden State. The Governor of California, Frank Finley Merriam, a conservative Republican, was seeking re-election. The sixty-nine-year-old Governor was colorless and seemed to lack popular appeal. Chester Rowell, a prominent progressive Republican journalist, commented sourly about Merriam's public record, saying, "some of that record is bad, much of it is negative and all of it is reactionary."² In addition, the Democratic party profited from the great popularity of Franklin Roosevelt in California during the early New Deal years. In 1934, for the first time in the twentieth century, Democratic party registration exceeded the Republican party totals.

Nine men entered the Democratic primary seeking the gubernatorial nomination. Victory went to an unusual candidate, the famed author and reformer, Upton Sinclair. Sinclair, a former

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Socialist, registered as a Democrat in the fall of 1933 and tried to obtain the nomination for governor without organization support. Sinclair developed a plan of proposed action against the Great Depression, the famous End Poverty in California (EPIC) Program. He urged changes in state taxation; elimination of the sales tax, and a shifting of the tax burden to the rich and the corporations. He supported a program of old age pensions. Sinclair favored the operation by the state of idle factories to hire the unemployed. Also a program of state land colonies were to be set up for the unemployed. People out of work were to be paid in scrip money that could be spent to purchase goods produced by state factories or food grown by land colonies.

Sinclair's ideas were condemned by many as unworkable and revolutionary, but it made little difference at the time. Thousands of Californians supported Sinclair because his movement offered hope of a "way out" of the depression. An organization, the End Poverty League, Incorporated, carried the program to the voters in all parts of the state. Sinclair himself wrote four widely circulated pamphlets and made scores of speeches throughout California. About 800 local EPIC clubs were formed to back the program. The EPIC movement possessed all the fervor of a religious crusade for large numbers of its supporters.

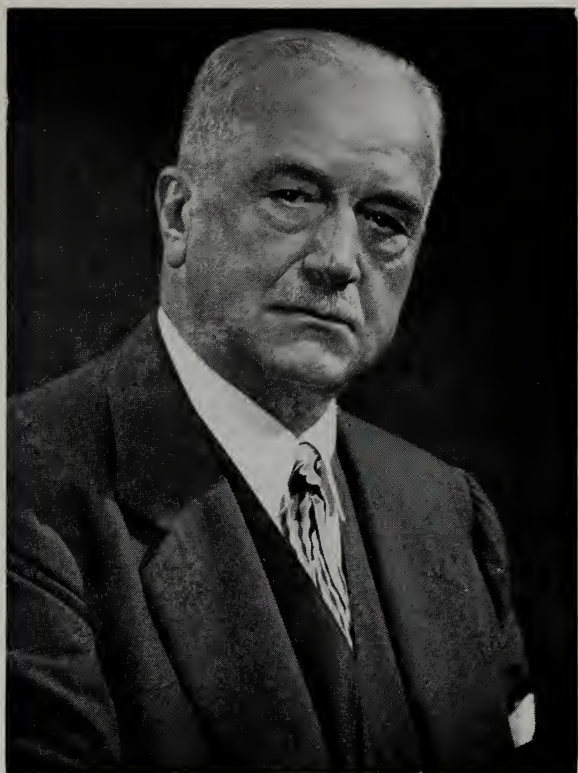
In the spring of 1934, the Sinclair candidacy began to attract serious attention. By summer, Sinclair's victory appeared likely. But to the astonishment of most people, on election day Sinclair won the Democratic nomination by an absolute majority over his eight rivals, having a margin of 148,094 votes over his nearest opponent. The fifty-six-year-old ex-Socialist author thus became the Democratic candidate for the highest office in the state.

The campaign that followed was probably the bitterest in state history. The contest had many of the aspects of the McKinley-Bryan Presidential campaign of 1896. Businessmen, frightened at the prospect of "socialism" in California, contributed large sums to the Merriam cause, enabling the Republicans to wage an intensive campaign. All over the state radio broadcasts, newspaper advertisements, and billboard space were devoted to denouncing the menace of "Sinclairism." Business and professional groups were

organized to "save" the state. Many Democratic leaders either endorsed Merriam or were silent as to their choice. Not a single daily newspaper or a single magazine in the state supported Sinclair. The Democratic nominee was attacked by the press in harsh terms reminiscent of the diatribes hurled against William Jennings Bryan in his first Presidential campaign. Sinclair was accused of anti-religious tendencies and was declared to be a visionary. It was charged that his plan would destroy business and bankrupt the state. Even the normally temperate Republican magazine, *Argonaut*, referred editorially to Sinclair's followers as "political idiots and economic savages."³

Amadeo Peter Giannini, a native-born Californian of Genoese ancestry who controlled the state's largest bank, watched the campaign with more than passing interest. Before Sinclair's movement developed strength, Giannini had no desire to enter the political picture. He had no personal political ambitions and was devoting all his energy to improving the financial condition of the Bank of America, hard hit by the Great Depression. This was a full-time occupation since the Bank in 1934 had 413 offices in California, scattered from the Mexican border to Oregon, and total resources of slightly more than one billion dollars. The banker wrote to a friend in December, 1933, about California politics. "As I stated to you in Chicago, I have no particular interest in the matter and do not want to get into the political picture, unless, of course, the interests of the institution are in jeopardy."⁴

As Sinclair's program unfolded and popular support for the EPIC plan grew greatly, Giannini became increasingly alarmed. The EPIC plan proposed heavy taxes on banks and corporations to support what Giannini considered to be an unworkable scheme. Of course, other bankers were equally disturbed but Giannini differed from them in that he was a New Deal supporter and had ties with Administration leaders in Washington. Giannini, as he later reminded Postmaster General James A. Farley, was the only big banker in California to back the Democratic cause in 1932.⁵ During the early New Deal years, Giannini sent frequent messages of encouragement to President Roosevelt and was a dinner guest at the White House on a number of occasions. He was on good terms



—Courtesy Bank of America

A. P. GIANNINI

*Founder,
Bank of America.*

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with the President's secretary, Colonel Marvin H. McIntire, and there was a considerable correspondence between the two men. McIntire, in writing to Henry Morgenthau, stated "personally, there are a lot of things about old Giannini that I like."⁶

Giannini was also closely associated with two Californians prominent in Democratic politics. One was United States Senator William Gibbs McAdoo, who formerly had been a highly paid legal counsel for Giannini's bank. The other was McAdoo's former law partner, James F. T. "Jefty" O'Connor, who was appointed in 1933 Comptroller of the Currency. O'Connor had managed Roosevelt's campaign for convention delegates in the 1932 California primary.

When the EPIC threat developed, Giannini tried to induce O'Connor to enter the gubernatorial race. As early as September, 1933, he sent a telegram to O'Connor saying:

The Democratic Party of California is looking for a real live wire as a candidate for Governor. You're just that fellow, Jefty, and I do hope that the Party will see fit to draft you although I must say you're badly needed where you are just now, but things ought to be pretty well cleared up by middle next year about primary time.⁷

Giannini renewed his pleas in the spring of 1934. On May 3, he had a long talk with O'Connor, urging him to run.⁸ On May 10, he sent a representative, Charles Partridge, to call on O'Connor and ask him to enter the primary.⁹ O'Connor, however, declined to enter the campaign. He felt that he had important work to do in his office as Comptroller¹⁰ and probably was dubious of his chances of winning. (Such doubts were thoroughly justified because in 1938 O'Connor resigned his position to run in the gubernatorial primary and was soundly defeated.)

After failing to get O'Connor to run for Governor, Giannini tried to persuade the Democratic leaders to agree on a single candidate to oppose Sinclair in the primary. He sent lengthy, identical telegrams in July, 1934, to M. E. Harrison, the California Chairman of the Democratic Party; to J. B. Elliot, Vice-Chairman of the Democratic State Senatorial Committee; and to Miss Nellie Donohue, the National Democratic Committeewoman:

I deem it my imperative duty to draw your attention to the fact that the impending nomination of Upton Sinclair as Democratic candidate

for Governor will aggravate conditions and irreparably impair the credit and heavily handicap the development of California . . . Unless the leaders of the Democratic Party in this hour of crisis get together and subordinate all personal differences and agree for the welfare of the State on one candidate, Upton Sinclair will get the nomination and thereby discredit the Democratic Party.

Giannini urged cooperation with Postmaster General Farley in the selection of a candidate. He suggested that a political observer be sent to accompany him on his annual visit to the 400 branch offices.

We can cover the 246 communities of the State where we have branches outside Alameda, San Francisco, Los Angeles counties in less than two weeks . . . While I am occupied with banking affairs, the man whom you may select to accompany me will be free to tour each of the 246 districts visited and canvass public opinion . . . This telegram is personal and confidential and must not be released.

Giannini concluded by saying that he had no personal choice.¹¹

Nothing apparently came of this suggestion. In the campaign that followed Sinclair's nomination in August, Giannini outwardly appeared to be neutral. Until the very end of the contest, he made no public statement of support for any candidate. He maintained contact with the administration through Comptroller O'Connor. Giannini passed on information about developments in California to O'Connor who, in turn, relayed the news to other high officials. An example of this transmission of information is contained in a message from O'Connor to the President in September, 1934.

I have just had a long distance call from Mr. A. P. Giannini and he advises me that Labor met in San Francisco last night and Sinclair agreed to adopt whatever platform they would write, for their support.

Mr. Giannini said he was marking time waiting for us to speak and I told him that I had not taken any position as yet as I did not know exactly what the Administration wanted done.¹²

Actually, behind the scenes, Giannini favored the candidacy of an Independent, Raymond Haight. Haight was a thirty-seven-year-old Los Angeles attorney with an attractive personality and a liberal record. He was the grandson of a former Governor and was a progressive Republican in background. Haight ran for Governor

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as an Independent with no backing from the Republican organization and little newspaper support. He sought the votes of Republicans who disliked Merriam and Democrats who found Sinclair distasteful.

Giannini and Haight were good friends. Chester Rowell had lunch with Giannini in August and reported of the banker: "he is very much taken with Haight and would probably support him against Merriam."¹³ At Haight's request, Giannini asked the newspaper publisher, C. K. McClatchy, to consider endorsing the Independent candidate. McClatchy owned the influential *Bee* chain of newspapers in the interior valleys. Giannini requested McClatchy to "play him [Haight] up a bit."¹⁴ The McClatchy newspapers did endorse Haight after the primary election. It was, however, in the last two weeks of the campaign that Giannini's support of Haight became important.

By the final week in October, Sinclair's defeat appeared inevitable. The *Literary Digest*, in a special poll of California, indicated that Merriam would win by a margin of almost two to one. The betting odds were two to one in Merriam's favor. The Democratic nominee was very discouraged. His slender campaign funds were almost exhausted. Business groups and the press were solidly opposed to his candidacy. Rumors began to fly that Sinclair might withdraw. It was at this point that an administration plan developed to replace Sinclair with Haight.

All during the campaign, the national Democratic leaders had held back from an outright endorsement of Sinclair. The Democratic candidate expected Roosevelt to come out for him in October, but the cautious President adopted a "hands off" policy as far as California politics were concerned. It was too risky to support Sinclair and the President's attitude towards the candidate became colder and more formal as time went by. Harold Ickes noted at the beginning of November that Roosevelt had completely dropped his earlier attitude of tolerance towards the Democratic nominee.¹⁵

In the final days of the campaign, administration leaders tried to save the seemingly hopeless situation in California. If Sinclair could be persuaded to withdraw in favor of Haight, the third party candidate, a Merriam victory might be blocked. Haight, as will be

shown, was willing to cooperate with the scheme. The difficulty in the idea was that the ardent EPIC supporters probably would vote only for Sinclair and could not be "delivered" to Haight. On the other hand, this vote loss might be offset by the moderate and liberal support that Haight, but not the more "radical" Sinclair could command.

Who was involved in the scheme? The key figures were A. P. Giannini, "Jefty" O'Connor, and Raymond Haight. Backing up the plan were Marvin McIntire, the President's secretary; Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau, and Postmaster General Farley. There is only one reference (in O'Connor's diary) to the President's participation in this action. However, it is impossible to believe that the President was unaware of the nature of the undertaking, since the plan was a reversal of the administration's former "hands off" policy. In order for the scheme to have taken place, it was necessary to obtain the tacit consent of Franklin Roosevelt.

At the end of October, Giannini was in New York on banking business, but he was in touch with Haight in California and O'Connor in Washington about the developments of the campaign. He acted as a liaison man between Haight and the administration. On October 26, Giannini sent a telegram to O'Connor that set the wheels of the plan in motion. He said:

My San Francisco reports rumors of Sinclair withdrawing [in] favor [of] Haight prevalent there. Some important developments will take place today, Haight having cancelled all speaking engagements and gone to Los Angeles for special conference. Haight will communicate with you direct hereafter. Suggest you leave word at hotel should you happen to go out as to where he can catch you.¹⁶

That evening, Haight told a radio audience to expect a "big surprise" in the next week.¹⁷

On October 27, O'Connor sent a confidential memorandum to McIntire. He enclosed Giannini's telegram of the day before. O'Connor urged administration support for a move to replace Sinclair with Haight. He gave four reasons why Sinclair's withdrawal would be a gain for the New Deal Administration. First, it would save a number of Democratic Congressmen who would lose their

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seats in a Merriam landslide. Second, it would "eliminate bitterness and ill will that would follow Sinclair's defeat among his supporters who will probably blame the Administration for not taking a more active part." Third, Sinclair's withdrawal would recall from the Republican ranks "thousands of independents and Democrats who have expressed themselves for Merriam." Fourth, "if Haight should be elected, it would practically assure the electoral vote in 1936." Then O'Connor told McIntire that Haight had agreed to give the Democrats an even break on the patronage, in return for support. O'Connor did not minimize the importance of Giannini in the picture. "Mr. Giannini has 200,000 stockholders . . . and several hundred banks and is waiting for word of our decision."¹⁸ Another copy of the memorandum went to Roosevelt's close adviser, Louis Howe.¹⁹

On October 28, Haight called O'Connor and told the Comptroller that he thought Sinclair was willing to withdraw from the race. Haight said Sinclair "will get out if he can save face." According to Haight, some supporters were urging Sinclair not to quit and were telling him that he was being bluffed into defeatism by the Republican press. O'Connor suggested that Sinclair wire Farley, asking the Postmaster General if withdrawal would help the Democratic cause.²⁰

That same day, October 28, Sinclair conferred with his top aides. He was almost completely out of money. Stanley Anderson, one of his advisers, suggested that Sinclair appeal for financial assistance to the one banker in the state who had supported Roosevelt in 1932. So, on Anderson's advice, Sinclair called Giannini on the telephone and asked for \$10,000 for the final days of the campaign.²¹

Giannini was fully prepared for the call, which indicated an understanding between Anderson and Giannini. The California banker suggested to Sinclair that an Administration emissary fly out from Washington to discuss the campaign situation and named "Jefty" O'Connor as a good choice. Giannini told Sinclair to phone McIntire and request that "Jefty" be sent out as soon as possible. Giannini said nothing about a possible withdrawal.²² Sinclair accepted the idea since he was still hopeful for a last minute administration endorsement which might save his cause. No promises

were made about money but there was the hope that aid would be forthcoming from Giannini if the O'Connor mission led to administration backing.

On the morning of the 29th, Sinclair called the White House to talk to the President's secretary. He complained about the "lies and intimidations" in the campaign. Sinclair said he wanted O'Connor to "step into an airplane and come out here and help us put down these lies." McIntire replied that the administration could not have any part in the mission. "If you want O'Connor out there take it up with O'Connor personally and as an individual."²³

Sinclair then called the Comptroller and O'Connor agreed to fly out to California that same afternoon (October 29). Before his flight, O'Connor talked to Farley, McIntire, Haight, and Morgenthau, as well as Giannini.²⁴ Giannini was enthusiastic about the mission, while Morgenthau told O'Connor that the President wanted him to go to California.²⁵ This is the only reference to the President in the affair.

O'Connor, after an all night flight, arrived in Los Angeles on the morning of October 30. His basic plan was to merge the forces of Haight and Sinclair, by persuading the Democratic nominee to withdraw in favor of Haight. Probably, O'Connor planned to get the leading Democrats in the state to endorse Haight's candidacy, once Sinclair was removed from the race. He tried to keep his mission secret, but news of his trip leaked out. O'Connor was greeted by a number of newsmen on his arrival in Southern California. He denied categorically to the Press that he had come to persuade Sinclair to withdraw. The Comptroller told the journalists that he had come home to vote! He added, "Of course, I'll talk to Upton Sinclair, if he wants to talk to me."²⁶

Actually, the mission was doomed to failure before O'Connor even saw the Democratic nominee. The rumors of a possible withdrawal had led reporters to interview Sinclair before O'Connor's arrival. Sinclair told the newsmen that he had no intention of quitting "under any conditions or circumstances."²⁷

Immediately after reaching Los Angeles, O'Connor went to see Sinclair, at the latter's home. The men had a two-hour conference. To the disappointed Sinclair, O'Connor held out no hope

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of a last minute endorsement by the administration. The Comptroller suggested as tactfully as he could, that if the election was doubtful, "some arrangements could be made." He did not actually ask Sinclair to withdraw. Sinclair ignored the suggestion.²⁸ Although his situation appeared to be desperate, Sinclair was determined to remain in the race. He would not be swayed from this decision, even by a Presidential emissary.

After the unsuccessful conference, O'Connor informed Farley that Sinclair was "out of money" and was, for all practical purposes, already defeated. Farley in reply said that it was now too late for a merger of the Sinclair and Haight groups. Meanwhile, at the same time, Sinclair made a last appeal for funds to Giannini. He asked the banker for \$5,000 for the last days of the campaign. Giannini refused to grant the money. According to O'Connor, Giannini told the Democratic nominee that Sinclair "had not played straight with him."²⁹

After the collapse of negotiations with Sinclair, O'Connor had personal interviews with both Haight and Merriam. The Comptroller's meeting with Haight was very brief, only thirty minutes. O'Connor felt that Haight's chances had vanished with Sinclair's refusal to quit. To O'Connor, the conference with the governor was far more important.

Merriam called on O'Connor on October 31 and the men spent two hours in conference. Merriam expressed his appreciation of the work of leading Democrats on his behalf in the campaign. The Comptroller put a question directly to the Governor.

"If you are elected, will you make a statement to the press of the Nation that your election is not a repudiation of the Roosevelt policies but that your election was brought about with the assistance of many of the Roosevelt leaders in California?" He said emphatically, "yes."³⁰

Merriam, anxious for Democratic help, also promised, if elected, to cooperate with the national administration. He told O'Connor "the Democrats will not be forgotten."³¹

On November 2, O'Connor sent a report on his mission to McIntire. Copies of the letter were sent to Farley and Morgenthau. "No other person in Washington will know anything about this report." O'Connor described Sinclair's refusal to withdraw. The

Comptroller said that he didn't come out point-blank and ask Sinclair to quit because "I saw the utter futility of such a suggestion." O'Connor described Sinclair's situation as hopeless. The conference with Merriam was discussed and O'Connor expressed great satisfaction with the governor's pledge to work with the national administration. "I believe my most important work on this trip was what we can expect if Merriam is elected Governor."

O'Connor concluded his letter by predicting that Merriam would be elected by at least 100,000 votes over Sinclair, but that his victory margin might reach 300,000 votes. It would be necessary, according to the Comptroller, to rebuild the Democratic Party in California from the bottom after the election. "We missed the greatest opportunity in the history of California in not having a Democratic Governor and putting this state 100 per cent under the Roosevelt banner."³²

During the last days of the campaign, O'Connor lined up Democratic support for Merriam.³³ At the same time, Giannini decided to come out for the governor. On November 5, just before the election, he announced that he would support Merriam. He said that he had received many letters and telegrams urging him to take part in the campaign. "I am violating precedent for the second time in my life and announcing how I intend to vote."³⁴ Giannini said that the EPIC plan was a "hazardous experiment" that would "demoralize business, depress the market for California securities and prohibit the entrance of new enterprises in the state." The operator of the state's largest bank concluded "although the Republican candidate leaves much to be desired, those who are wholly interested in the welfare of California have no choice but to support Merriam and Hatfield."³⁵ Giannini's support of Merriam at this late date had little importance except to complete the roll call of prominent businessmen on the Republican side.

O'Connor's predictions were borne out in the election. Merriam won by a margin of 259,083 votes over Sinclair. The margin although substantial, was smaller than many people had anticipated. Merriam received 1,138,620 votes; Sinclair, 879,537; Haight trailed with 302,519. The combined Haight and Sinclair totals exceeded that of the governor by 43,436 votes. It was the first time since

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1914 that a winning gubernatorial candidate had less than a majority of the vote in a general election. Since 1934 was a year of Democratic victories in most states, it is quite probable that the California Democrats would have won with a more orthodox candidate. Considering his handicaps, Sinclair did surprisingly well.

Whether the last minute substitution of Haight for Sinclair would have prevented a Merriam victory is questionable. As it was, the maneuver of Giannini and the administration leaders was blocked by Sinclair's refusal to withdraw from the race. The Democrats had to wait another four years before scoring their first gubernatorial victory in the twentieth century.

NOTES

1. This article is largely based on material from the Franklin D. Roosevelt Papers at Hyde Park, New York; the unpublished diary of J. F. T. O'Connor at the Bancroft Library, University of California at Berkeley; and the Giannini Papers contained in the Bank of America Archives in San Francisco.
2. Rowell to George T. Cameron, August 8, 1934, Chester Rowell Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California.
3. *Argonaut*, CXIII (November 2, 1934), p. 1.
4. Giannini to Harold Stonier, December 21, 1933, Bank of America Archives.
5. Giannini to James A. Farley, December 21, 1935, Bank of America Archives.
6. McIntire to Henry Morgenthau, Jr., November 28, 1933, Roosevelt Papers.
7. Giannini to J. F. T. O'Connor, September 7, 1933, Roosevelt Papers.
8. Diary of J. F. T. O'Connor, May 3, 1934.
9. *Ibid.*, May 10, 1934.
10. *Ibid.*, June 19, 1934.
11. Giannini to M. E. Harrison, J. B. Elliot, Nellie Donohue, July 18, 1934, Bank of America Archives.
12. O'Connor to Franklin D. Roosevelt, September 13, 1934, Roosevelt Papers.
13. Rowell to George T. Cameron, August 8, 1934, Rowell Papers.
14. Giannini to C. K. McClatchy, August 11, 1934, Bank of America Archives.
15. Ickes, *The Secret Diary of Harold Ickes*, v. I, *The First Thousand Days, 1933-1936* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1953), p. 217.
16. Giannini to J. F. T. O'Connor, October 26, 1934, Roosevelt Papers.
17. *San Francisco Examiner*, October 27, 1934.
18. O'Connor to Marvin H. McIntire, October 27, 1934, Roosevelt Papers.
19. O'Connor to Louis Howe, October 27, 1934, Roosevelt Papers.
20. Diary of J. F. T. O'Connor, October 28, 1934.
21. Upton Sinclair, *I, Candidate for Governor and How I Got Licked* (Pasadena; n. p., 1935), p. 196.
22. *Loc cit.*
23. Stenographic, verbatim report on telephone call between Upton Sinclair and M. H. McIntire, October 29, 1934, Roosevelt Papers.
24. Diary of J. F. T. O'Connor, October 28 and 29, 1934.
25. *Ibid.*, October 29, 1934.
26. *Los Angeles Times*, October 31, 1934.
27. O'Connor to M. H. McIntire, November 2, 1934 (quoting Sinclair), Roosevelt Papers.
28. Diary of J. F. T. O'Connor, October 30, 1934.
29. *Ibid.*, November 1, 1934.
30. O'Connor to M. H. McIntire, November 2, 1934, Roosevelt Papers.
31. Diary of J. F. T. O'Connor, October 31, 1934.
32. O'Connor to M. H. McIntire, November 2, 1934, Roosevelt Papers.
33. Diary of J. F. T. O'Connor, November 2, 1934.
34. *Los Angeles Times*, November 5, 1934.
35. *Los Angeles Herald Express*, November 5, 1934.

IN MEMORIAM

In the deaths of Henry R. Wagner and Phil Townsend Hanna the field of California and Southwestern history lost two of its most distinguished figures. Both were authors of scholarly works, both were men of wide friendships, both were members of historical and other groups—including the Historical Society of Southern California, with Henry Wagner being at one time its president.

Henry Raup Wagner was born in Philadelphia on September 27, 1862. He graduated from Yale in 1884, returning to take two more years in law. He went to Kansas City, began the practice of law, and became greatly interested in the historical background of the West. Through business associates he got into mining. In 1898 he became ore-buyer and smelter-manager in Chile for the Guggenheim family firm. He went to Europe, to Mexico, and to South America in a variety of capacities as a mining executive. While in Mexico he began to collect books, at first on the history of mining and metallurgy. His bookish interests expanded into the history of Mexico, the Spanish Southwest, and Texas. His bibliography, *The Plains and the Rockies*, was the result of his acquisition of rare narratives of the Overland Trail. He sold this collection to Henry E. Huntington. Upon partial retirement from Guggenheim, he married Blanche Henriette Collet, an artist, and moved to Berkeley, California. Later he removed to San Marino, California. All during this time he was active in many learned and historical societies and in research and authorship. His death took place in San Marino on March 27, 1957. Mrs. Wagner survived him only a few weeks. Henry R. Wagner was the author of a score or more of books on his special interests. Among them were: *Sir Francis Drake's Voyage Around the World*; *Spanish Voyages to the Northwest Coast of America*; *Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo, Discoverer of the Coast of California*; *The Rise of Hernando Cortes*; *The Cartography of the Northwest Coast of America*; *The Spanish Southwest*; and *The Plains and the Rockies*.

Phil Townsend Hanna was born in Los Angeles on August 24, 1896. He was a student at USC 1912-14. He became automobile editor of the *Los Angeles Tribune* in 1915 and during the two years following he was a reporter on the *Los Angeles Express* and *Los Angeles Times* and night city editor of the latter. He was the representative of the Associated Press and, since 1927, was the editor of *Touring Topics* which became *Westways*. In 1940 he took on the additional duties of public relations counsel for the Automobile Club of Southern California. He was founder and active member of the Wine and

In Memoriam

Food Society of Los Angeles, a trustee of the Southwest Museum, a director of the Friends of the Huntington Library, a member of the California, the Sunset, the Chaparral, and the Zamorano clubs. His authorship of books include: *Libros Californios*; *California Through Four Centuries*; *California Under Twelve Flags*; and *Dictionary of California Land Names*. He edited a series of important maps published by the Automobile Club of Southern California; *Chinigchnich*, published by the Fine Arts Press, Santa Ana; *A Gil Blas in California*; *Los Angeles in the Sunny Seventies*; and (with Philip Johnson) *Lost and Living Cities of the California Gold Rush*. Perhaps his last writing was a tribute to Henry R. Wagner, composed in an oxygen tent shortly after Wagner's death. Phil Hanna died June 1, 1957 at his home in Los Angeles.

—W. W. ROBINSON

Mrs. Marshall Stimson

Just before the QUARTERLY went to press, we received with deep regret the report of the passing of another valued director of the Society, Mrs. Marshall Stimson. An In Memoriam for her will be included in the September issue.

Book Reviews

LOWER CALIFORNIA GUIDEBOOK. By Peter Gerhard and Howard E. Gulick. The Arthur H. Clark Company, Glendale, California (1956), pp. 218. Maps, Ills. Cloth bound \$6.00; stiff paper cover \$5.25.

How to get about in Baja California today is the theme of this superbly presented, fully mapped guidebook.

It opens with a frank warning that the back roads of Lower California are definitely not for the fastidious tourist and that south of Ensenada the tourist will find few good hotels, practically no restaurants, no cozy American bars, very few shower baths, and mostly no plumbing or electricity. What we have in this volume is a complete reference guide for vacationers, sports-fishermen, hunters, explorers, campers, yachtsmen, private air pilots—yes, and for librarians and air-chair travelers.

Until recent years the only way of getting about in Lower California was by pack mule or boat. Now the important places can be reached by automobile. There are railroads near the border, passenger-carrying ships touch the principal ports, and airlines serve a few key points. Good paved roads connect the border towns and work is progressing on the transpeninsular highway south of Ensenada and north from La Paz.

The authors have spared no personal hardship to come up with a book that describes every road and desert trail, with complete route mileage, point-to-point mileages, and data on food, drink, fuel, and accommodations. Missions—and there are many of them—villages, ranches, beaches, trails, camping spots—nothing is overlooked. And there is enough history and comment upon the people and their customs to make it meaningful to the most lethargic librarian or chair-ridden reader.

There is a folding key map and there are detailed route maps. A brief bibliography is included.

Baja California, still a primitive area, is a coming country, and this first, up-to-date guide performs a unique, interesting, and important service.

—W. W. Robinson

Activities of the Society

MEETING OF APRIL 30, 1957

This meeting was a salute to our members, Mr. and Mrs. Fred C. Ripley and family. M. A. O. Appel, Assistant Secretary of the Santa Fe System, presented a motion picture entitled "Wheels A'Rollin'—the Evolution of Railroading." The picture was in color and was accompanied by a sound track. After the showing of the picture, Mr. Appel paid some gracious compliments to Edward Payson Riply, President of the Santa Fe, 1895-1933. Mr. Fred Ripley acknowledged the courtesy and spoke with keen interest of the work of Mr. Appel. Miniature railroad trains were placed on exhibit at the speaker's table. The large number of members in attendance was a tribute to the Ripley family and the railroad's officials.

Refreshments were served with Mrs. Ed Ripley and Mrs. Tatus presiding.

MEETING OF MAY 28, 1957

This regular monthly meeting gave Remi A. Nadeau an opportunity to present "Ghost Towns of California." In 1943 Mr. Nadeau published *City Makers* and again in 1950 *Water Seekers* and after that *The Ghost Towns of California*. In the first of these three books he covered the work of his great-great grandfather, who, in his day, carried on the vast Cerro Gordo freighting operations. Mr. Nadeau gave us a running account, accompanied with kodachrome slides, of different buildings and views connected with the long series of ghost towns in California as well as some in Arizona and New Mexico. At the close of his lecture, he answered many questions that arose on the part of the audience. The questions proved the interest that his talk had engendered.

Activities of the Society

President Arlt called attention to the fact that this was our last meeting until September and that it was our farewell meeting in our present building. Mrs. Remi Nadeau and Mrs. Alfred S. Chapman presided over the coffee table.

TWENTY-NINTH ANNUAL ALL-DAY FIELD TRIP

Under the able direction of our program chairman, Frank B. Putnam, 71 of our members, previously booked for the trip, assembled at 9:00 A.M. on June 15th in front of our Headquarters where Tanner buses awaited. The route taken was first to Glendale, then the Angeles Crest Highway to Vincent on Highway 6 and finally into Soledad Canyon arriving at Lang, Southern Pacific Station, at about noon. The drive was delightfully scenic and enjoyed by all. After a brief dedication, a temporary plaque was installed at the station, California Landmark No. 590, with several of the members participating. The trip was then continued with a brief stop at Placerita State Park where the "Oak of the Golden Dream" was pointed out to the party and then on to "Saxonia Park," where a picnic lunch was enjoyed with coffee served by the park.

Following the luncheon, Dr. Arlt introduced the following speakers: Captain George R. Anderson, Mr. H. Brad Atwood, Mr. H. A. Bury, and Mr. A. B. Perkins.

At the conclusion of the speeches, the return trip was made via San Fernando Pass, more correctly known as Beale's Cut, past the original oil refinery in Newhall, and the Cascade where the water first came to San Fernando Valley from the Owens River Aqueduct, and continuing on by way of Burbank and North Hollywood to Headquarters where the group disbanded about five o'clock. A most interesting and thoroughly enjoyable day was had by all.

Gifts to the Society

In each issue of THE QUARTERLY there appears a list of the donors and gifts made currently to the Society.

The Society is making an especial effort to build up its collection of historic materials, such as diaries, letters, account books, early newspapers, theatre and other programs, pictures of early-day life in California and costumes. We need your help.

Many members having treasured ancestral keepsakes were impelled to give them to the Society because of the realization that in private possession they would, sooner or later, disappear or deteriorate, whereas, in the custody of the Historical Society of Southern California they will be preserved indefinitely.

MARCO R. NEWMARK,
Chairman, Committee on Gifts and Bequests

MRS. L. T. BARROW, Houston, Texas—A number of old receipted bills of sale from various Los Angeles firms, dated around 1900.

FRANK B. PUTNAM, Los Angeles—The 89-year-old marble fireplace from the recently demolished Pico's Building. (See the March, 1957, *Quarterly*, p. 81 for a photograph of it.)

MISS LOUISE LENZE, Los Angeles—A copy of *Pen Pictures of the World*, Lewis Publishing Company, Chicago, 1889.

MR. AND MRS. LEGORY H. O'LAUGHLIN, Glendale—An old photograph (undated) of the Lamanda Park Railroad Station.

FRANK ROLFE, Los Angeles—The *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Eleventh Edition, 21 volumes, with three supplementary volumes of the 13th edition.—Also Yearnaya's *Peter the Czar Reformer*, Ginsberg's *Legends of the Jews*, and Edersheim's *The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*.

MRS. GUY E. MARION, Los Angeles—A large redwood bookcase with leaded glass doors.

MARCO R. NEWMARK, Los Angeles—A copy of the *California Quarterly* and a number of copies of our own *Quarterly*.

New Members

The officers and the Board of Directors welcome the following new members into the *Historical Society of Southern California*:

Mrs. Elsie B. Adams	Adolph Holm
Dr. Irving R. Bancroft	Louisa Holm
Robert Bennett	F. James Hope
Fletcher Bowron	J. M. Isaac
Arcadia Bandini Brennan	Roger W. Jessup
W. A. Bullis	Adelaide B. Kingman
Mrs. Clyde R. Burr	Edward D. Lyman
W. B. Carman	George R. Martin
Newcomb Condee	Carmen K. McFarland
Zannie E. Davis	William B. Menton
Edmond G. Ducommun	Mission San Fernando
Jean F. Ducommun	Ferdinand Perret
Patricia L. Ducommun	Roger Bixby Smith
G. E. Fullerton	Carey Stanton
Zilla C. Graves	



—Photo Courtesy Philip J. Rasch

THE ORIGINAL HANGMAN'S TREE

This photograph should have appeared in the March, 1957, issue in connection with the article "The Story of Hangman's Tree," by Philip J. Rasch.

Publications
of the
Historical Society of
Southern California

1909 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles 18, California

REpublic 4-2823



1892 — Annual Containing the Sutro
 Documents with translations - - each \$3.00

1931 — One Hundred Fiftieth Anniversary Special Publication
 (Annual for 1931) - - - - each \$5.00

All other numbers of Annual
 Publications - - - - - each \$2.50

A limited number of sets of Annuals
 (1892 - 1934, inclusive) are
 available - - - - - per set \$75.00

These sets do not include Annuals
 for 1895, 1924 or 1933,
 which are out of print.

THE QUARTERLY — One full year to
 members - - - - - per run \$8.00

Individual single numbers to
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Individual double numbers to
 members - - - - - each \$3.00

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 non-members - - - - - per run \$10.00

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 non-members - - - - - each \$3.00

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September, 1957

Vol. XXXIX — No. 3

The

Historical Society of Southern California

QUARTERLY



— Photo from the Author's Collection

STUDIO PORTRAIT

The six older children of the Rocca family photographed at Santa Cruz in 1895. Back row, left to right, are Bernard and Andrew, Jr.; middle row, left to right, are Lillian, Florence and Beatrice. In the front is Idalene. (SEE "THE LIFE AND DEATH OF A QUICKSILVER MINE," page 251.)

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA was organized in 1883, and has enjoyed a record of continuous activity for nearly three-quarters of a century: Commencing in 1886, and each year until 1935, the Society issued an Annual Publication. In 1935 the *Quarterly* was initiated. It is published each March, June, September and December.

It is the aim of the Editorial Board to make the *Quarterly* a publication of general historical interest. Suggestions and criticisms are always welcomed, and all persons, whether members of the Society or not, are invited to submit for the consideration of the editors original articles, old letters, documents, maps and other material bearing upon the history and development of this region.

The Society's Purposes and Objectives are:

- To sponsor and encourage observances of historic dates and anniversaries;
- To preserve and protect the archives and historic sites of the Southwest with particular stress on Southern California;
- To assist in the marking and restoration of landmarks which inspire interest and respect for events, persons and customs of the past;
- To promote activity in the conservation of public records, historical documents, newspapers, museum material and related Californiana;
- To preserve, as an aid to business and industry, business records, industrial and transportation history and the use of historic material in public relations;
- To encourage the increased use of history in the schools, to the end that there shall be developed a greater interest in, respect for, and loyalty to our American institutions;
- To publish material of permanent historic interest and significance;
- To assist and encourage all persons and organizations engaged in similar activities;
- To hold regular monthly meetings in Los Angeles (except during the summer months) at which persons of recognized authority in their respective subjects appear as guest speakers, followed by refreshments and a social hour;
- To gather at least once each year in a pilgrimage to some spot of historic significance.

This Society is a public non-profit corporation. The principal sources of revenue for its operations and maintenance are from membership dues, contributions and bequests. It renders a worthy public service and needs your support.

MEMBERSHIP CLASSIFICATIONS:

(Dues include one subscription to the QUARTERLY)

<i>Life Member</i>	\$200.00	<i>Sustaining Member</i>	\$ 25.00
<i>Patron Member</i>	100.00	<i>Active Member</i>	10.00

Membership dues and contributions to the Society are deductible for income tax purposes.

Articles, stories, books for review, and all material to appear in the QUARTERLY, and general society correspondence should be addressed to:

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

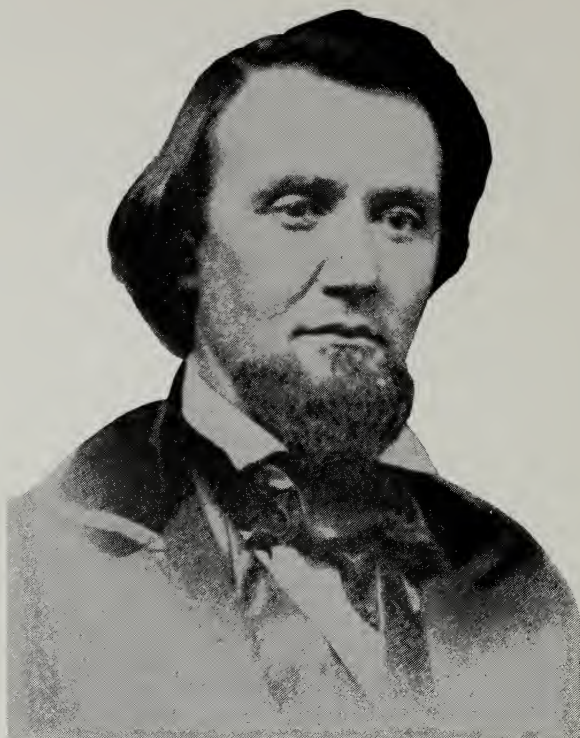
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The
Historical Society of Southern California

QUARTERLY



—Courtesy, History Room, Wells Fargo Bank, San Francisco

JUDGE DAVID S. TERRY

Killed at Lathrop, California, on August 14, 1889, by David S. Neagle, body guard of U.S. Supreme Court Justice Stephen J. Field. (See "A LETTER FROM MRS. DAVID S. TERRY TO THE PRESIDENT'S WIFE," Page 211)

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The Historical Society of Southern California

FOUNDED NOVEMBER 1, 1883

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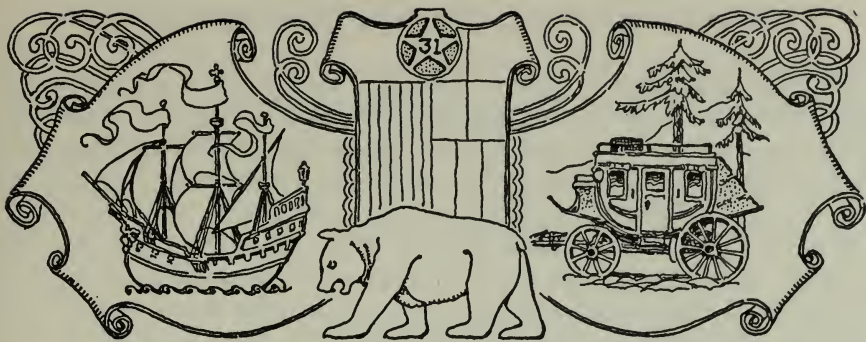
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GUSTAVE O. ARLT, *Editor*

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The Historical Society of Southern California QUARTERLY for September, 1957

A Letter from Mrs. David S. Terry to the President's Wife

By John S. Goff

THE STORY OF THE TRAGIC DEATH of David S. Terry, former Chief Justice of California, and the events which caused it, have long interested historians. It is essentially the story of the downfall of an individual, who was not evil as charged by his enemies, but of one who possessed many good traits. It is the story of a man who in middle age became involved with a younger woman of uncertain past. The woman, Sarah Aletha Hill involved Judge Terry in the last important fight of his career, and ultimately contributed to his death. The writer does not intend an extended review of the facts of the famous Sharon Will cases, or to review the many facets of Terry's interesting life, but it would seem essential to note the basic facts that were the prelude to the shooting of Terry at Lathrop, California, on August 14, 1889.

On October 3, 1883, William Sharon, a former United States Senator from Nevada, declaring himself to be a citizen of that state, initiated a suit in the U. S. Circuit Court at San Francisco against one Sarah Aletha Hill. The purpose of the suit was to have the court declare that an alleged contract of marriage between the two parties was false. This document, the alleged marriage con-

tract, was supposed to have been executed at San Francisco on August 25, 1880. Sharon admitted in his suit that he was a wealthy man, and charged that Sarah Hill, posing as his wife, was purchasing merchandise in his name in the local stores. Further, he felt that the matter ought to be settled, since in the event of his death, there would be considerable litigation over his estate, and the defendant would probably try to claim a widow's share. The suit started by Senator Sharon was not immediately answered, but instead on November 1, 1883, "Sarah Aletha Sharon" sued for divorce from William Sharon in the Superior Court at San Francisco. Grounds for the suit was alleged infidelity. The divorce action mentioned that the Senator had an estate in excess of fifteen million dollars, and requested that the court declare this to be community property under California law. George W. Tyler, and his son W. B. Tyler, represented Sarah in this instance. Nine days later, Sharon, through his attorney, answered the divorce suit by denying that there ever had been a valid marriage between the two. He stated that he had not been aware of the alleged marriage contract until sixty days prior to the commencement of the divorce suit. In addition, he went on record as stating that he was not worth over five million dollars (ten million less than what Miss Hill claimed), and that his monthly income did not exceed thirty thousand dollars.

The divorce suit, and the answer, was transferred on November 24, from the Superior Court to the United States Circuit Court, since the parties claimed to be residents of two different states. Sharon's attorneys in the matter were General W. H. L. Barnes and William T. Wallace.

Meanwhile, the original suit filed by Sharon was receiving action. Thus there were two separate actions pending in the matter. The original Sharon suit was tried, and decree rendered on January 15, 1886, the Court holding that there was no marriage between William Sharon and Sarah Aletha Hill. The marriage contract, it is interesting to note, was never brought into the court room and was later said to have been burned by Judge Terry in 1889. The divorce suit was by far the more interesting of the legal actions. With Judge J. F. Sullivan presiding it lasted eighty days, from March 10 to September 17, 1884. During the trial, Sarah's attorney was often in difficulty. His newly acquired associate, David S. Terry almost got into a fist fight with Sharon's attorney. At the conclusion of the trial some of Sarah's witnesses were sent to jail for perjury. Judge Sullivan finally ruled in favor of Miss Hill, holding that as the legal wife of William Sharon she was entitled

A Letter from Mrs. David S. Terry to the President's Wife

to a half share of the community property. On February 16, 1885, the same court awarded alimony payments and attorney's fees. The ex-Senator's lawyers immediately demanded a new trial which was denied, whereupon an appeal was taken to the California State Supreme Court. This body upheld the lower court, but considerably reduced the amount of alimony granted to Sarah, and denied all fees to counsel.

Two events had recently happened to change the status of Sarah Aletha. William Sharon died November 13, 1885, and on January 7, 1886, "the widow" remarried at Stockton. Her new husband was David S. Terry. Judge and Mrs. Terry were not long to be free of litigation, for F. W. Sharon, a son of the Senator, filed a new suit in U. S. Circuit Court against the pair. The purpose of this new action was to attempt to void the decision of the California Supreme Court, and to again revive the old 1883 suit against Sarah. Francis G. Newlands, later to represent Nevada in the Senate, and a son-in-law of William Sharon, joined in the action. The case was heard before Circuit Judges Sawyer and Sabin, and U. S. Supreme Court Justice Stephen J. Field. Justice Field, an old arch enemy of David S. Terry, ruled against the Terrys. A U.S. marshal later swore that as Field was reading his ruling Sarah Terry yelled "You have been paid for this decision." Field ordered her to keep her seat and be quiet, whereupon the woman screamed "How much did Newlands pay you?" The Judge ordered her removed from the court room, and in the uproar that followed the marshal stated that Mrs. Terry refused to move, and David Terry stepped between Sarah and the marshal. He put his hand inside his coat, possibly, it was claimed, to pull a gun or knife, and two court attachés seized him and pulled him from the room. They later took a knife from Judge Terry, and found a Colt pistol in Mrs. Terry's satchel.

The result of the free-for-all was that both husband and wife were sentenced to jail for contempt of court, the former for six months, and the latter for thirty days. Terry was supposed to have made threats against Field and said that he would kill the Justice. That the threats were taken seriously is evidenced by the fact that the next time Field was scheduled to come west to California, the Attorney General of the United States had a body guard, Davis S. Neagle, assigned to protect Field. The matter came to a head at Lathrop on August 14, 1889. Field and Neagle were on a train which had stopped for breakfast. While the two were eating in the station restaurant, the Terrys came into the room. Field did not see them, but when they noticed him they left. A moment later Terry came back, walked over to Field, and began striking

him. Neagle ordered him to stop, a skirmish followed, and Neagle shot David S. Terry dead.¹

Father Harry J. Sievers, S.J., who is currently finishing the second volume of his definitive life of President Benjamin Harrison, uncovered some information about the Terry case that has not been heretofore known. A letter now in the possession of Mrs. Marthana Harrison Williams, granddaughter of the twenty-third President, reveals the pitiful state of mind of Sarah Aletha Terry following the death of her husband. It is written in a half legible scrawl, undated, and addressed to Mrs. Benjamin Harrison.² The letter reads:

Mrs. Harrison—

My Dear Madam—

I believe you are a woman with all the attributes that go to make up a sober good woman with a woman's heart—and being so I ask you to take up my great trouble to the extent of seeing that this persecution of me is stopped—have your husband remove the District Attorney and Marshal Franks and fill their places with Republican gentlemen—these men now in office got their positions through Judge Field and do anything he may desire—they have murdered my husband in cold blood. Oh, Mrs. Harrison he was all I had—he was so good, so grand and so noble and honorable—and he was so persecuted. Judge Field uncalled for attacked my character in a decision—when it was only a question of whether a name should have been substituted or not—and he went out of his way to brand me a wanton when never a word has been said against my character in any court in all these 6 years of trouble. I at the time the 3 of last September was three months towards being a mother—and when I heard that Judge so slander me—I thinking of my little unborn—became excited and Judge Field ordered me dragged from the Court room—and sentenced my darling husband to 6 months in jail and myself to 30 days—in dragging me from the room I was injured (so) that I lost my child—and Judge Field ordered that I should not have the privilege of the hospital but to keep me in the jail—he then got my husband and I in trouble and went East and circulated a pamphlet of vile slander about us and came back out [again?] this year and sat upon the bench [here the writing becomes illegible for the remainder of the sentence]—and Field came into the dining room that morning knowing we would be there—when we did not know he would be in there—and in all his travels in this state he was never known [another phrase that is not legible] and Marshal Franks says Attorney General Miller ordered that he have the secret service men follow us and hound us around—and now that my husband is murdered—they today not being satisfied with what they have done—dragged me from a sick bed into Court to plead to the [charge?] of my getting excited last September—and District Attorney Carey says Attorney General Miller ordered him to put me on trial at once and to employ extra counsel to prosecute

A Letter from Mrs. David S. Terry to the President's Wife

me—can you believe that Attorney General Miller would do such a thing to any woman—Marshal Franks says Attorney General Miller ordered him to instruct a marshal to shoot Judge Terry for the slightest reason—if Miller thought it necessary to have Marshals protect Field—why did he not have the fact published and dress the Marshal in officers clothes—instead of dressing him like a dude. The manner in which the Judge and myself have been persecuted has been something terrible—and yet they are not satisfied—will you not have your husband put a stop to this persecution—he can order this persecution stopped and allow me at least to have peace with my dead. I put this matter in your hands—and as a woman to a woman I ask you to come to my aid—and stop this awful persecution—I am Sincerely and most Respectfully

Mrs. D. S. Terry
Lick House, San Francisco, Cal.³

One cannot but wonder how much, if any, truth there is to be found in these serious charges, and how much is the raving of a mad woman. Apparently the letter was merely filed and no action was taken. Stephen J. Field was far from a sterling character, but surely he was not as pictured in this letter. Attorney General Miller was William Henry Harrison Miller, personal friend and for many years the Indianapolis law partner of the President. What was his role in this case? Two recent books have dealt with this subject. One is Helen Holdredge's *Mammy Pleasant*⁴ which though it is most interesting, is not as well documented as one might wish. A. Russell Buchanan's biography of Judge Terry⁵ has been received most favorably and contains most all available information about the Terry-Field feud which ended at Lathrop that August.

The records of the Stockton State Hospital indicate that Sarah Aletha Terry was admitted to that institution on March 11, 1892, and that she was then supposed to be thirty-five years of age. This may be questioned. The Wagstaff biography of David S. Terry states that Sarah was born at Cape Girardeau, Missouri, in 1848, the daughter of Samuel Hill, a prominent attorney, and his wife Julia Sloan Hill.⁶ The *New York Times* in reporting Mrs. Terry's death gave her age as 87 years, which would indicate that she was born about 1850. The records of Stockton Cemetery are not definite as to the year of her birth, but her grave marker gives her age as 80 at death. Probably this was on the basis of the hospital records. The complaint alleging mental illness was signed by M. E. Pleasant, the notorious Mammy Pleasant.

Dr. Freeman H. Adams, then Director of the Stockton Hospital, in a letter to the writer, commented on her stay at Stockton:

When Mrs. Terry was first admitted to the hospital, she was highly excited, imagined that she was being hypnotized, and talked about spirits. Before wearing any new clothing, she would wash it to remove the electricity. She always conducted herself about the hospital with the air of a queen. At times she would give instructions to the nurses to order automobiles for her, or order French dinners. She never felt badly when these did not materialize. Regular parties were given for the patients of her cottage once a month, and at these parties, Mrs. Terry was always one of the gayest. She had a ready wit and was very entertaining. She had built up a rather extensive world of daydreams, and I think we could find that in her fantasy she seemed quite happy. For a number of years she lived in an open cottage, and spent much of her time sitting on the porch of this cottage visiting with everyone who went by. She gradually became more feeble, physically. On one occasion she fell, fracturing her hip. After this she walked with a cane.⁷


Death came to the once famous woman on February 14, 1937. She was buried next to Judge Terry in Stockton Cemetery, with members of the Bar Association of San Joaquin County in attendance. Most newspapers ignored the story or repeated the usual fiction about the Terry case. The *New York Times*,⁸ calling her the "Rose of Sharon," said that when the Federal Court reversed the state court's ruling in the divorce case: "she rose in court and leveled a revolver at Judge O. P. Evans." An interesting and colorful statement, but unfortunately untrue. Evans, a former Superior Court Judge, has been associated with Barnes as assistant counsel.

NOTES

1. See Oscar T. Shuck, *History of the Bench and Bar of California*. (Los Angeles: Commercial Printing House, 1901), for a good factual account of the entire Sharon Will Cases.
2. Apparently the letter was written between August 14 and September 3, 1889, for it is after the shooting, but Mrs. Terry speaks of "the 3 of last September," indicating that it is not yet the third of September 1889.
3. "Contura" copy of the letter in possession of the writer, from which this transcript is made. Courtesy of Father Sievers.
4. Helen Holdredge, *Mammy Pleasant*. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1953).
5. A. Russell Buchanan, *David S. Terry of California, dueling judge*. (San Marino: Huntington Library, 1956).
6. Alexander E. Wagstaff, *Life of David S. Terry*. (San Francisco: Continental Publishing Company, 1892).
7. Letter from Dr. Adams, to the writer, June 19, 1956.
8. *New York Times*, February 17, 1937.

Some California Educators I Have Known

By Rockwell D. Hunt

OW THAT I AM IN WHAT MAY BE CALLED my third retirement, and without official academic responsibility, it is pleasant to recall to mind many of my fellow educators of years that are gone. Indeed, this to me is one of the privileges and compensations coming from the long span of active service in the field of education. All of my regular teaching, beginning as far back as 1891, has been in California. The institutions included Napa College, which was finally consolidated with the University of the Pacific in 1896, then the "Old U.P." itself, at San Jose, next San Jose High School, where I was principal for six years, followed by my thirty-seven years at the University of Southern California, at Los Angeles. In 1898 I taught one of the first courses in Pacific Slope History at Stanford University, and in 1910 I had courses in Economics at the State University, in Berkeley. Following my retirement at U.S.C., in 1945, I was for seven active years director of the California History Foundation at the College of the Pacific, in Stockton. Finally, for two years I served as president of the Conference of California Historical Societies, a state-wide federation.

First among prominent educators—not now living—whom I knew particularly well was my own college president at Napa, James N. Beard, who later was my chief during the first part of my incumbency at the University of the Pacific. Of all my many teachers the influence of none upon my life and career equalled that of President Beard. He was a man of the highest type of character, dedicated to the best ideals of learning who, in addition to class-room instruction, gave me freely of his wise counsel when my need was greatest. Now I can appreciate the tribute paid him by Dr. Elbert R. Dille, his close friend from childhood: "Of all the men whom I have even intimately known, Dr. Beard possessed the most symmetrical and perfect character."

I have been privileged to know many California educators;

and I am constrained to head the entire list with the name of David Starr Jordan, first president of Leland Stanford, Jr. University. I see in Jordan a full-orbed, rounded-out, mature person—scientist, teacher, author, administrator, citizen, internationalist, *man*. No matter how brilliant or how distinguished any of his successors in administration, the name of Stanford's first president will always stand out as a beacon. To have known him personally was to be enriched in one's own life.

Jordan's contemporary at the University of California was President Benjamin Ide Wheeler, one of the most illustrious of all the administrators of the State University. He was a man of great classical learning, an exemplar to the personal graces and charm, a writer and speaker with few superiors in style and imagery. Among all his writings probably his most popular book was the *Life of Alexander the Great*. The traditions and the prestige clinging to the matchless Berkeley campus, as well as the academic standards of the University, were greatly enhanced by his presence and activities among us.

I am thinking of others of the Berkeley campus I have known. Among these—a large group—I would like to make mention of a selected few. From the literary standpoint Charles Mills Gayley was outstanding. Many a talented student was inspired by this peerless master to scale the heights of a literary career. Not only by his numerous publications, such as *Classic Myths* and *Literary Criticism*, models of style and diction, but as founder and ardent advocate of university extension, he helped bring the rudiments of liberal culture to many thousands over wide areas. Many honors came to Gayley from European nations: particularly was he distinguished in Shakespeare associations, both in America and in London.

Henry Morse Stephens, profesor of history, whom I knew quite well, was reputed to be the most popular professor of the entire faculty, even more popular with students than with teachers. President Wheeler had brought him from Cornell to California, but he always retained his English pronunciation and his own unique manner to the last. He was in great demand as extension lecturer, having been a pioneer in that work in London and Oxford. Probably more than any other individual he was the real founder of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association. His favorite subject, both for writing and for countless lectures, was the French Revolution, his two-volume history being one of his most scholarly works. Many times has the truth of a remark made to me in friendly conversation been stamped upon my mind:

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he said, "The personal touch is worth all the letters that ever were written."

My first acquaintance with Dean Alexis Frederick Lange came while I was principal of San Jose High School, and he was representing the State University as examiner of high schools with reference to accreditation for admission of their graduates to freshman standing. It was an exciting day for the high school faculty when the University Examiner made his appearance; for the teachers wished to make their best impressions. I found Dr. Lange considerate and friendly. For years his major field had been English Language and Philology; but no single department could claim him exclusively. In 1909 he became Dean of Graduate Studies, then University Dean, finally Director of the School of Education, in which capacity he rendered conspicuous service to the University and to the state. My own acquaintance with him was renewed after I went to the University of Southern California, particularly when U.S.C. sought the privilege of granting the recommendation for the secondary teacher's certificate on equal terms with Stanford and Berkeley. Lange was then an influential member of the State Board of Education, whose approval was required. All in all, he was a worthy exponent of true culture, not at all given to mere pedantry: he won and held the esteem and solid respect of scholars, and was instrumental in preparing a host of qualified teachers.

I became acquainted with Charles Henry Rieber in 1910, when he was dean of the Summer Session at Berkeley and I taught classes there in economics. Later this acquaintance developed into a warm personal friendship in Los Angeles, while he was Dean of the College of Letters and Science at the Southern Branch of the University of California (later U.C.L.A.) and I was at the University of Southern California. We saw each other frequently, especially as members of the Los Angeles "X" Club in its palmy days. Rieber also was a native of California. Not only was he a scholar and a philosopher; he possessed a gentle, high-minded soul, with the sensitive spirit of a true esthetician—he was a lover of the beautiful, the truly artistic found in him a sincere champion.

Of all the educators I have known David P. Barrows alone, of his own choice and at his own request, stepped down from the university presidency to resume professorial rank in the faculty. This was President Barrows, of the University of California, who served in that capacity from 1919 to 1924. He was a man of scholarly tastes, who found certain aspects of practical administration uncongenial: from these he wished to free himself in order to devote his energies more fully to teaching and writing. In this I believe

him to have been completely sincere. I am happy to have known him. For eighteen years he was director of the department of political science. His military career was quite unusual. He played a major role in reorganizing the California National Guard. Early in the century he was sent to the Philippine Islands, where, as director of education, he was largely responsible for establishing the American system of education. His writings include a *History of the Philippine Islands* and works on the government of California. In the U. S. Army he rose to the rank of Major General. General Barrows received decorations from several foreign governments, and served on the Commission for the relief of Belgium, directing the distribution of food in Brussels. His bearing was always that of the soldier. Frequently he was called upon to address prominent organizations on civic and political issues. He was outspoken and forthright. I knew him to be much interested in historical problems and to emphasize the historical point of view. Dr. Barrows became a member of the State University faculty in 1910, and finally retired in 1943. He died September 5, 1954, highly respected as an educator, soldier, and patriotic American citizen.

When I first became acquainted with Ernest Carroll Moore he was superintendent of the Los Angeles school system, as successor to James A. Foshay. I gained the impression that his final months in that position were far from happy, largely because of continued criticism by the Los Angeles *Times*, published by General Harrison Gray Otis. It is interesting to note how he returned to Southern California, after an absence of a number of years as professor of education first at Yale then at Harvard, to become the virtual founder of what is now the University of California at Los Angeles, through its several stages of metamorphosis from what was the old Los Angeles State Normal School. It is difficult to compare Dr. Moore with any other leading California educator. By many he would be thought of as a scholar in the field of educational philosophy rather than as a practical administrator. But certain it is that his name and his work are indelibly stamped on the history of education in the state.

In California's Hall of Fame the future will hold an honored place for Herbert Eugene Bolton. It was my good fortune to know Professor Bolton almost from the time he came to the state from Texas, in 1909, down to the time of his death, in 1953. After two years at Stanford he joined the Berkeley faculty. I may compare him to my own teacher at Johns Hopkins, Herbert Baxter Adams; for what Adams was as inspirer of scholars to the life of research and teaching in American History, Bolton was in the field of Cali-

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formia and Southwestern History. His students honored him in two volumes of research papers, edited by George P. Hammond, in 1932; then, in 1945 the University of California published a volume, *Essays in Honor of Herbert Eugene Bolton*, edited by Adele Ogden and Engel Sluiter. One is amazed both at the volume of his published works and at the meticulous scholarship maintained throughout. His *Outpost of Empire* and *Rim of Christendom* won the gold medal of the Commonwealth Club. Bolton was broader than any one department, nor did he confine himself to a single area: he stood for the underlying unity of the early development of the Western Hemisphere. All in all, what he did and what he was, give Herbert Eugene Bolton a unique place among California's educators.

At Stanford, among the leaders it was my good fortune to know, next to President Jordan himself, first mention must be made of George Elliott Howard, head of the large history department. There was a teacher, thorough and dedicated to his work, who had a real passion for his profession. It was an inspiring privilege to work with him—he was of the sort that brought out the best in you. For years I have thought it was probably one of the most poignant experiences in Jordan's administrative career to part company with the 'right-hand man,' when as a sequel to the historic "Ross trouble" Howard placed himself in a position that the president and Mrs. Stanford decided to be totally inconsistent with his remaining at the University. And it was a cruel blow to Howard, who, after tribulation, later won an enviable place among American sociologists.

With the reorganization of the history faculty at Stanford following the departure of Howard, came Max Farrand of Yale. He was young, dynamic, and aggressive as director of the department. As principal of the San Jose High School at the time, and interested in the field of local history, I became acquainted with him, an acquaintance that was deepened in connection with the formation of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association, in which I would place Farrand second only to Henry Morse Stephens of Berkeley. The position at Stanford was far from an easy one; but the new history head showed a high order of ability, and with good judgment added to sound scholarship and personal enthusiasm, with hard work, Farrand achieved a good degree of success. After some years at Palo Alto he accepted the post of director of the newly opened Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery at San Marino. He did much to establish that great insti-

tution on a firm foundation as one of the preeminent research centers of the entire West.

With considerable pleasure I remember Professor Oliver P. Jenkins of the Stanford chemistry department. He was by no means a person to be confined to his class-room or laboratory. He struck many a stinging if good-natured blow at a type of creeping pedagogy at a time when schools of education were striving to be born. Unlike most of his scientific colleagues he sallied forth, to teachers' institutes and the public platform, to prove himself a master of jibes, even ridicule, directed against certain of his budding contemporaries and their new-fangled educational jargon, departing—as he thought—from the true pathway to learning. For being called a 'philistine' he cared not at all—he had already prepared the Indiana State Series of textbooks in Physiology: he seemed to thrive on criticism. His was another voice that deserves to be remembered in the total ensemble of California education. If Jenkins' voice did not always contribute to 'orthodox' harmony, it had no lack of verve!

At the University of Southern California James Harmon Hoose holds a place all his own as a master teacher. He was one of my first acquaintances when I joined the faculty there in 1908. His was a dominant position among his colleagues; he had become known as the Nestor of the University. He impressed me as a man of extraordinary maturity; and while nominally a professor of philosophy, he was primarily a teacher not of subjects but of men. One may almost hear him now in his classroom: "Knoles, read that last sentence in paragraph two, page 317. Now tell the class precisely what the author means." "What different definitions can you give for the word 'radical,' and what is the writer's intention here?" He insisted on searching analysis by each individual. When plans for the Greater University were announced, it was only natural that Hoose should be selected first chairman of the Graduate Council. His interests knew no departmental bounds. He was highly respected by us all; the qualities of his personality were transparently genuine, his inspiration to younger colleagues and students alike was never failing. The formal dedication of the James Harmon Hoose Hall of Philosophy on Monday, June 20, 1921 provided a suitable memorial to this great teacher.

George Finley Bovard was president of the University of Southern California during my first thirteen years on its faculty. In 1908 it was a small institution with a big name, and a strong faith in its future. It was Bovard who stood at the helm, with his eye fixed on the star of hope, and who guided the ship through difficult years

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in her course toward the "Greater University." He dreamed dreams but was far from visionary; he possessed a spirit of adventure, but persistently held to realizable ideals; at times he displayed a courage that amounted to boldness, but he always counselled with trusted advisers and was never rash. I was permitted to work closely with President Bovard: I found him modest in his claims as an administrator, always considerate toward his faculty and willing to learn from any professor. He made no boast of erudition, but his sterling character and administrative ability won for him the solid respect of all. When he retired in 1921 he had the satisfaction of leaving the University of Southern California in a place of leadership among private institutions of the Southwest, well along the way to the metropolitan university he had envisioned more than a decade before.

Another conspicuous leader at Southern California, a special friend of Doctor Hoose, was Thomas Blanchard Stowell, who came to Los Angeles from New York in 1909, just when the plans for a greater university were taking form and reality. His contributions were both generous and noteworthy. He was one of those rare individuals capable of carrying responsibility and achieving results in several important fields simultaneously. Stowell was the real founder of the School of Education, becoming its first dean, in 1919. His service to the teaching profession in Southern California to that time was probably without equal. His interests were as broad as life itself; his zest for life and activity was fairly contagious; his unfailing courtesy and democratic brotherliness marked him as a gentleman scholar in the commonwealth. On the day following the formal dedication of Hoose Hall fittingly occurred the dedication of Thomas Blanchard Stowell Hall of Education.

In the galaxy of California educators I have known the bright particular star in the ample realm of science, where even the sky set no limit, is Robert Andrews Millikan of California Institute of Technology, where as chairman of the executive council he presided, while serving all humanity for more than a score of years. There is no need to rehearse his achievements here. He had studied in American and foreign universities; later many honorary degrees and distinguished awards came to him; twenty-one foreign scientific societies claimed him as a member; as author he has left us works all the way from the *First Course in Physics* to the treatise on *Electrons, Protons, Photons, Neutrons, and Cosmic Rays*, then his *Autobiography*. He brought everlasting fame to Pasadena and to California by his residence in the Golden State. During the years following his retirement, in 1945, he gave frequent addresses on

the close relationship between science and religion, emphasizing their interdependence and mutuality as human needs. Millikan was born in Illinois, March 22nd, 1868; died on the 19th of December, 1953. Spoken with characteristic humility as a learner, as he viewed it, "Human progress rests on two pillars, the cultivation of the spirit of religion and the spirit of science."

Among the eminent California educators whose acquaintance I enjoyed, perhaps most colorful of the entire list was Doctor Aurelia Henry Reinhardt, president of Mills College for women, from 1916 to 1943. A native of the city by the Golden Gate she was a true Californian. Few women have been more popular or more capable on the public platform, few more prominent in Woman's club work and similar activities. That she also had scholarly tastes is indicated by her extensive editing work. At academic functions she always presided with stateliness and personal charm; but on occasion she could throw aside all her dignity and wholeheartedly dismiss her conventionality. Aurelia Reinhardt proved herself a general favorite not only among the girls at Mills but with both men and women in all walks of life.

Referring to California noblewomen who have devoted themselves to the cause of education, Susan M. Dorsey of Los Angeles is deserving of a high place. In a fine tribute she paid to Mr. William Housh she used words that might well have been applied to herself, especially when she spoke of his sense of beauty, "whether beauty in nature, in literature, in art, or in human character." From the ranks of grade teachers Mrs. Dorsey rose, step by step, to become superintendent of the large Los Angeles City School System. In it all she maintained a quiet, unostentatious demeanor—the kind that characterizes the true lady. I never saw her when she appeared really perturbed: there was always the evidence of composure and self-mastery. Beset by many irritating problems incident to her position, she rose above them, with the steadfast purpose of fulfilling her high calling. Graciousness, with the strength of gentleness and poise, was characteristic of her rich personality. She completed her distinguished career as a California educator with honor, respected and loved by multitudes of her beneficiaries.

I have known many California high school principals; but since I must limit myself in this paper, the one man that I am specially remembering now is William Harvey Housh, long-time Principal of Los Angeles High School. I had known him and his work even before going to Los Angeles in 1908: my acquaintance with him, however, was deepened and enriched from that time forward. In 1894 Mr. Housh came to the School as head of the

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physics department: only a year later he was made principal. For many years he presided over the Los Angeles Principals' Association. Truly memorable was his long period of service, down to the day when he was given the title Principal-Emeritus. Housh set the standard for his large school, including its strong faculty and the hosts of youth composing the student body. It was a high standard. As population soared, and high schools multiplied, the fine tradition of "L.A. High" remains, like a sacred halo about the school where Mr. Housh presided so graciously and to which he devoted the best years of his life. His own philosophy is epitomized in the motto he selected for his school: "Obedience to Law, Respect for Others, Mastery of Self—These Constitute Life." As gentleman, counsellor, and faithful friend, he was the embodiment of the School motto.

In the autumn of 1850, even before the news of California's admission into the union reached San Francisco, John Gage Marvin was elected the new state's first superintendent of public instruction. While Marvin strove earnestly to develop a good public system, he met with much discouragement; and for a while pupils were taught in churches—school houses were lacking. It was a far cry from the backward days of the early pioneers to the time, in 1927, when the State Department of Education was created, and ten years later, when Walter F. Dexter was elected state superintendent. I remember Doctor Dexter when he was president of Whittier College, his term beginning in 1923. He was a well-trained leader, with his master's degree from Columbia and his Ed.D. from Harvard. In religion he had a Quaker's background, he possessed a sterling moral character, and insisted on high educational standards. As superintendent he was secretary and administrative officer of the State Board of Education, which, as the policy determining body then consisted of ten lay members. The large personnel of the department included about a dozen administrative divisions. If it appears strange that a man of the type of Walter Dexter should enter the political arena and seek the support of the voters for public office, it was a good omen that such a man, a man of high moral caliber should be interested in thus serving the commonwealth. He seemed to me to be an excellent example of the true function of "The Scholar in the Republic."

I have now made brief reference to more than a score of California educators, all of them leaders, whom it has been my privilege to know, in some instances quite intimately. Still others might readily be added to the list. I may be permitted simply to present the names and general fields of some of these—still a very incom-

plete list. From the University of California there are Charles E. Chapman, in Spanish-California; Bernard Moses, in political science; Aitkin, in astronomy; Hedrick, as provost at U.C.L.A.: from Stanford should be added A. B. Shaw and Clyde Duniway, in history; Edward A. Ross in economics; and Elwood Cubberley in education: from Napa College, Charles B. Ridgaway, dean and mathematics; William C. Damon, history and classical languages: from the University of the Pacific, Eli McClish, president; Moses S. Cross, dean and classical languages; A. C. Bothe, chemistry and physics; Heber D. Curtis, Latin and mathematics: from the California School of Elocution and Oratory (San Francisco), William T. Ross, president: from Pomona College, Frank P. Brackett, astronomy: from Occidental College, Burk, dean: from University of Southern California, James Main Dixon, comparative literature: Edgar von Fing-erlin, foreign languages; Laird J. Stabler, chemistry; Wildon Carr, philosophy; Ezra E. Healy, theology; Carl Knopf, religion; and other colleagues: superintendents John H. Francis, Will C. Wood, Claude Reeves.

All these are now deceased. To include even the names and titles of the large number of those now living would be to expand the list quite unduly, and would impose a task from which, understandably, I would naturally shrink.

My own life has been enriched immeasurably by acquaintance with such a group of leaders; and my respect for the teaching profession has been deepened, while my own decision, reached in early life, to enter the field of education has been confirmed, enabling me now to report, as I look back over many years, I have no regrets. In my opinion, teaching is one of the noblest of all professions.

Juana Briones de Miranda

By J. N. Bowman



JUANA BRIONES DE MIRANDA, or Juana Briones or the Widow Briones, was the only woman householder of the very early days of Yerba Buena or present San Francisco, mentioned by the early pioneers. She no doubt lived for a short time or at least visited at the Polin Spring on the Presidio; her first residence was at the Figueroa Spring at the edge of the Presidio ground, and later near Washington Square, then at the Rancho Purisima Concepcion near Mayfield, and her last days were spent in Mayfield itself. She gave much aid to deserting sailors in the 1830's and provided vegetables and milk to the residents and to the mariners in the early 1840's. The pioneers of the 1830's and the travelers of the early 1840's seldom fail to mention this lady.

She was the daughter of Corporal Marcos Briones of the Monterey Presidio and a native of San Luis Patosí; her mother was Maria Isidora Tapia, a native of the "Villa de Culiajan." Juana was one of the twins born on or a few nights before January 9, 1796, either at the Presidio or at Carmel. Maria de la Luz was the first born, Juana Gertrudis was born later and was not expected to live. So uncertain was her life that she was baptized privately by the retired soldier Rafael Vilavicencio. She did survive and on January 9 her sister was baptized and Juana's private baptism was made official. The godfather for Luz was the choir master, Manuel Ruiz, a native of Guadalajara, but no godparents are recorded for Juana. The baptismal record was made by Fray Antonio Jayme.¹

Only a little has been learned of the brothers and sisters. A brother, Gregorio, was the grantee of Rancho Baulenes in Marin County whose descendants are still living on parts of the old rancho. Another brother, Felipe, was the grantee of Boca de la Cañada del Pinole in Contra Costa County, although the final grant was in the name of his widow. Jachaca or Isaica, married a Soto, and later had a frame house on Pinole Rancho in the upper Alhambra Valley. Another sister was Guadalupe who married Miramontes and about 1820 was living at Polin Spring on the Presidio and who later, or her family, moved to Halfmoon Bay. The twin sister, Luz, ap-

parently did not marry. Among the people in Yerba Buena in 1846, Davis lists Da Luz Briones as living at Polin Spring with the Miramontes family and in the 1880's was living with Juana, near Mayfield. In a testimony given by Davis in one of the land cases he stated his understanding that a Jose Rodriguez who died about 1839 or 1840 had married a niece of Juana Briones.²

Between her birth and her marriage only one piece of direct information regarding her life has been learned. Her grandson, Tom Mesa of Mayfield, recalls her statement that for a time at least she lived somewhere at Mission Santa Clara. This is perhaps the reason for her purchase many years later of part of the old Peña abode as will be noted later. Her schooling in accordance with the customs of the day must have been very meagre indeed. From the fact that all of her documents extant were written by friends it may be assumed that she either never learned to write or that she had forgotten how to do so.

At Mission Dolores on May 14, 1820, Juana Briones, daughter of Marcos Briones and his wife Isidora Tapia, married Apolinario Miranda, bachelor, cavalryman, son of an invalided or retired soldier of the same name. He was born in 1793 at Dolores, son of Alej Miranda and Santa Gutierrez. In 1810, at the age of 17, he enlisted at the Presidio and in 1829 he became a corporal. His name still appeared on the Presidio roster in 1836. For some unknown reason Juana Briones married very late in life, she was over 24 at the date of her marriage, an age far in advance of the marriageable age general in the province. It is very probable that they lived in the Presidio or with her sister at Polin Spring or perhaps divided their time between the two places.³ On September 29, 1829, and March 31, 1830, and a few months between these dates, Miranda was reported as corporal of the guard at Mission San Jose. These are the only references found as to him between his marriage in 1820 and his grant of Ojo de Agua de Figueroa in 1833. It is quite probable that he had his family with him at the Mission.

Miranda in his later days proved a very unexemplary husband. In 1842, 1843, and 1844 he was five times reported to officials as having domestic trouble in his home. In September, 1833, he petitioned the *comandante* for the grant of Ojo de Agua de Figueroa stating that he was soon to retire and that he had already built a house on the lot. The history of this grant is given in another paper on the *Ojo de Agua de Figueroa*. On September 13, 1847, he was buried at Mission Dolores, age 53 years. Nothing further has been learned of his life and the only knowledge of his later

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years is the statement in the petition for this grant to the Board of Land Commission in 1852, that he had died about 1848.⁴

The Ojo de Agua de Figueroa was a large spring at the edge of the hills and ran above ground until about the turn of the century. Since then it still runs but into an underground conduit. It is located in the parking strip in Lyon Street about 48 feet below the bottom step of the cement stairs leading down from Vallejo Street. The spring was near the south line of the grant and the house was mostly in Green Street and to its south there was a corral, the lot was fenced and planted in fruit trees, and in later years was used by her mostly for her cattle. The first house was no doubt a *palizada* built early in 1833, and was later replaced with an adobe.

It was while living in this home or at Polin Springs that six of her eight children were born. Maria Presentacion, her first born, was baptized at Dolores on June 15, 1821. This daughter, like others of her sisters and brothers, was later known by another name, among her own family—as Concepcion. In 1844, at the age of 21, she married Robert Ridley, of London and Yerba Buena, who bought and held for sometime Rancho Cañada de Guadalupe, Visitacion y Rodeo Viejo in San Mateo and San Francisco counties. Maria Josefa Manuela was baptized at Dolores on February 16, 1823. She was also called Manuela and even Manuela Paula. Later she married Agustin Mesa. Maria Jesus, a boy, was baptized on January 6, 1824. Maria de Jesus, a girl, was baptized on June 6, 1829. Maria Antonia del Refugio was baptized January 18, 1835. Jose de Jesus Julian was baptized January 29, 1837. Maria Manuela de Jesus was baptized May 13, 1839. Jose Aniceto was baptized April 16, 1841. The exact dates of births are unknown but would not be long before the dates of baptism. During the 1840's evidently the names of some of these children had been changed by family usage or by nicknames. In the petition to the Board of Land Commissioners on August 31, 1852, the names of only seven children are given: Juan, Tomas, Jose de Jesus, Dolores, Presentacion, Manuela Paula, and Petronillo. Other lists of the names of the children are found in the petition for review of February 14, 1856, in the decree of November 26, 1858, in the paper granting the appeal, of November 30, 1858, in the Supreme Court mandate of March 15, 1864. All these lists have only seven names except the decree of 1858 and the mandate of 1864, which copied the former, which have eight. In 1852 Maximo Martinez, from an adjoining rancho, near Rancho Purisima Concepcion, testified that there were five daughter and three sons; and Tom Mesa, a grandson, recalled in 1939, only seven children. Juan, Tomas, Norcisa, and Petronillo

are different names from those in the record of baptisms, and the identification has not yet been found. In San Jose in 1872 a probate record mentions the son Jose Dolores as a mental defective and for whom a guardian was appointed. Regarding the different names for the children Davis recalls that Encarnacion who later married Ridley was a very vivacious girl and that they used to throw eggs at each other. So Presentacion was known also as Encarnacion and Concepcion. In addition to her children Juana began proceedings in 1835 for the adoption of an Indian orphan girl. On October 8, of that year, Jose de la Rosa wrote for her a letter to General Vallejo asking for full and legal authority to adopt Cecilia Chohuilhuala, a neophyte, orphan of deceased wild Indian parents. In December testimony was taken at Sonoma, all favorable to the project. No record of the result of the hearings is found, but no doubt it was favorable, and also perhaps this was the Indian girl whom Lyman reported as being one of the two sick persons in her home on the rancho when Lyman lodged there in 1848.⁵

Soon after the adobe house was built at the Ojo de Agua de Figueroa, Juana Briones aided four men to desert their ships and remain in the province. One of the sailors, Charles Brown, told the story almost fifty years later. "An old lady named Juana Briones residing in the Presidio, understanding that myself, Ephrian P. Farwell, Gregorio Escalante (a Manila man) and an Indian, named Elijah, native of vicinity of New London, wanted to run, stowed us away in the loft of her house; from there she moved Farwell and me to the bushes on Black Pt. Then she sent for her brother, Felipe Briones, from Pinole, who came and carried us over there. There I remained till 1832. Farwell went to live with the Castros; he was a tailor and native of Philadelphia." Elijah was "a good cook but not too smart; he sat on a limb of a tree, which he cut off, fell and hurt his fingers." "Juana Briones cured him." Escalante later was very sick; Juana Briones cared for him at her Purisima Concepcion rancho as told by Lyman, as will be mentioned later. In the Ojo de Agua de Figueroa land case Brown testified in 1854 that "in 1833 and part of 1834 I lived on the place in the house of the then occupant and owner, Apolinario Miranda, who resided there with his family."⁶

For several years the Ojo de Agua de Figueroa was the home of the Mirandas. The lot was enclosed, part of it was cultivated, part in fruit trees, with a corral to care for the cattle. Nothing other than the Brown story has been learned of the events of these years. During this period her only neighbors were the people in the Presidio, at the Polin Spring and at the Mission. In May, 1835,

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William A. Richardson and his family arrived from San Gabriel to begin the pueblo at the Yerba Buena Cove, founded by General Figueroa. A great grandson of Richardson, David B. Torres, recalls a definite statement of his mother and his Uncle Steve Richardson, son of William A., that Juana Briones moved from the Ojo de Agua de Figueroa toward the cove in order to be near the new neighbors, that the Richardsons helped her to build a temporary house and that this was before Leese arrived. This explanation for the move seems to fit best all the available facts, but does not fully conform with some of the testimony in the land grant cases. Brown stated that she moved "to town" in 1842, while Davis testified that "she lived there first in 1838," and Leese said that "she lived there first in 1838 and continued till after the war." Judging from the known facts as to the character and activities of Juana Briones, her domestic troubles, and her later life at the rancho, the earlier date, on the coming of the Richardsons, seems the more probable. It is very probable that she built her adobe house at Washerwoman's Bay in 1837, perhaps even in 1836, lived in it perhaps temporarily and a year later made it her permanent residence.⁷

The site of this adobe was on the block north of Washington Square, mostly on the lot known as 454 and the rest on 455 with a corner touching the present church. The long axis was fairly parallel with the trail of that day leading from Yerba Buena cove to the Presidio and so extended from northwest to southeast. Relative to present streets it stood at an angle of about 65° to Powell about half way between Filbert and Greenwich. By 1851 it had an added wing extending southwestward from the northwest corner; when the house finally fell is not known; parts of its ruins may have been standing as late as the 1870's.⁸

Juana Briones is known to have been very careful in all her real estate dealings; it is very unlikely that she was a squatter; undoubtedly some one, the *comandante* or the *alcalde* gave her verbal or written permission to locate at Northbeach, but no record of such a grant has been found. In her extant petition for her land of February 17, 1844, written and signed for her by Jose de la Rosa, she states "that this makes more than two or three petitions that I have made in order that I might be favored with the grant to a lot." It is quite probable that the more than two or three petitions would extend the time of her original petition back to or close to 1836 or 1838. She was finally granted the lot by alcalde George Hyde and given possession on January 8, 1847. The domestic troubles of 1842-44 with Miranda mentioned above, were perhaps an incentive for her making the independent petition for her own lot.⁹

Just when her domestic troubles began is not known, but by the early 1840's they became intolerable. Her last child was baptized on April 16, 1841; in the three following years Miranda had been reprimanded by the Presidio *comandante* for his domestic infelicity and so reported to Monterey; these measures were supplemented by a civil censure, but all to no avail. On July 10, 1844, at Santa Clara, Juana signed, with a cross, a letter to Bishop Diego at Santa Barbara in which she set forth the drunkenness, the scandalous activities and the unsavory company kept by her husband, his failure to provide for her and the family, the unfortunate example of his activities set before the sons and daughters, the unpaternal actions toward members of her family, and that she was forced by her own labors to provide for the home. She stated that documentary proof of her contention accompanied the letter. She asked the Bishop to separate her from her husband. The Bishop's reply is unknown, but apparently the request was granted for after that date until his death in 1847 his name has not been connected in any way with the family.¹⁰ It is very probable that the actual break came about 1836 and led to her building a new home at Northbeach, and the final separation came in 1844.

It was here at Northbeach that she lived for the next decade. Her husband had gone to other parts for he is not mentioned in the records and it is known that in the 1840's she used the old home at Ojo de Agua de Figueroa for the grazing of her cattle. It was during her residence at Northbeach that she became known to the early pioneers and travelers as Juana Briones or most usually as the Widow Briones, for her hospitality, for her services to those in need of her ministrations, and for her vegetables, tea, and milk. W. S. Clark, who arrived late in 1846, wrote that she "gathered herbs from the side of Telegraph Hill from which she decocted a very palatable tea. The local territorial officers at Monterey, the capital, in taking their excursions to the various missions around the Bay including Mission Dolores and this point, always partook freely of this delightful beverage, hence the name "'Good Herb' of Yerba Buena."¹¹

W. H. Thomes visited the Bay in 1843 and in his book, *On Land and Sea*, tells of his frequently getting milk for the ship from Juana Briones whom he called Señora Abarono. Late in April of that year Thomes recounts the adventure of himself and his shipmate, the French Lewey, in getting milk from the widow and describes the method of milking in vogue in the province. They climbed Telegraph Hill and viewed the Bay and the pueblo.

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"In the rear of the town were vast sand mounds, ever changing, while at the foot of the hill, on the Golden Gate side, was a large adobe house, and outbuildings, the residence and rancho of Senora Abarono, a rich widow, where I afterward used to go for milk every morning, unless off on boating duty. The lady and I struck up quite a friendship. She always welcomed me with a polite good-morning, and a drink of fresh milk, and then scolded her servants in a shrill voice, as though she desired to infuse in them much of her own activity—which, for a Mexican woman, was something wonderful. If the men had had some of the energy of that buxom, dark-faced lady, California would have been a prosperous State, even before it was annexed to this country, and we would have had to fight harder than we did to get possession.

Some days later he and Lewey went again for milk early in the morning.

Senora Abarono was already stirring when we reached her premises. Her shrill voice was heard from afar, scolding her servants, and urging them to do many things at the same time; yet, when she saw Lewey and me, she gave us a smiling welcome, and pleasant good-morning, and intimated that we were the best boys she had ever seen, which was news to us, but exceedingly gratifying at the same time, for we were just vain enough to like compliments of that kind, we heard so many of a different character from the prejudiced people on board the ship, who did not think we possessed virtues of an abiding character, for reasons beyond our comprehension. It is all very well, at this late day, to say that we knew the correct one, but we might have been mistaken on the subject.

"Ah!" the good lady said, as she beamed on us, "you want milk for the captain and cabin, do you? Well, you shall have it." "Pedro," she shrieked, "lassoo the milking cows, and be quick about it."

Pedro did not seem to think that there was any occasion of haste, but he took his *riata*, and started for the corral where a dozen wild-eyed cows, and their calves were confined, and looked dangerous to approach. We followed the *vaquero* to note a real California milking operation; and it would have made a Vermont farmer wild to have seen the performance. To be sure that we were safe from the dangerous-looking horns, as they were jerked about in a careless manner, we climbed on top of an adobe wall, and sat there and looked on.

Pedro did not seem to have any fear of the cattle. He entered the corral, regardless horns and heels, selected a cow, threw his lasso over her head, and dragged her out of the pen, in spite of plunges and bellowings, and the shrill bleating of her calf. Then Pedro put up the bars, so that the stock could not escape, took a turn with his *riata* around a stout stump, dragged the plunging animal up to it, made all fast, and then secured the cow's hind legs, and tail, with a lashing of rawhide, thus insuring some gentle milkmaid from being kicked clear through the adobe wall, and into the adjoining waters of the Golden Gate, for a cross California cow

could kick like a mule, and fight like a bull, when so disposed.

"When Pedro had accomplished his hard task, he looked at us, and gave a grin of satisfaction, wiped his forehead with the palm of his fragrant hand, kicked the calf in the ribs, because it wanted to get an early breakfast, and could not do so as it was muzzled, then lighted a paper cigarette and sat down for a comfortable smoke. In this state of perfect rest Senora Abarono found him.

"Dias gracias," she screamed, "what are you doing there? Smoking as though there was no work to be done. Up with you, *ladrone* of the devil, and milk the cows, so that they can be turned out to graze."

Pedro grinned, and, as he had concluded his smoke, got up, winked at us again, and went into the house for a pail. It was not a pail that he brought out, but something else, that did not look like a bucket in shape, size or form, and it was made of wood.

Lewey gave one yell, and fell off the wall in a fit, and laid on the ground and laughed so long, that I feared he would burst, and die, before I could get him on board. The least thing excited his mirth, and he was such a funny boy, and saw matter of amusement where others would fail to discover anything of a ludicrous character. Like most Frenchmen, when he was cast down he was very low spirited, and when the cloud had passed away, as light-hearted and gay as a Kanaka, with plenty of tobacco, and little work, and pay going on.

The lady seized the article, and squatted at the side of the cow. The animal gave a bellow, and made desperate attempts to kick, but could not do so owing to the stout lashings on the hind legs. Then the Senora plunged at the teats, but the cow was stubborn and refused to give down a drop of milk, and her eyes looked threatening, as she humped her back for a mighty leap. But the lady only smiled and scolded. She knew her business.

"Get the calf loose, Pedro," she said, and the muzzle was taken from the struggling, impatient offspring, and, with a glad bleat, it ran to its mother, butted her, tugged at her teats, and the obstinate feelings of the cow were overcome. Her eyes lost some of their wildness, her bucking ceased and with a bellow of satisfaction, she gave down milk, and the calf commenced to gorge itself, but just at this point Pedro stepped in, pulled away the glutton, and the lady took its place, and milked the unruly creature with perfect composure, or until the supply was exhausted, and then another cow was treated in the same way, and the first one was turned loose on the grazing grounds of the rancho, and so on until half a dozen had been milked. Just before the operation was completed I went into the house, and found a tin pan, and begged the lady to use it to furnish our supply, or such as we desired for our bottles. She readily consented, although she asked in tones of astonishment what fault we had to find with the utensil into which a stream of milk had been falling. We could not make any explanation that would have satisfied the lady, so said nothing although Lewey swore that he would not touch a drop of milk that did not come from the tin, not if he went without *leche* all his life, and I acquiesced in his decision and thought that

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he was right. I have not altered my opinion to this day, although it is very probable that some of our milkmen are quite as careless in selecting milking-pails as the Mexican lady, only we do not know it, and that is some comfort. California people were children of nature, and did many things which we thought out of place, and uncalled for, but education had not taught them that some dishes were not as good for one thing as another. How they managed to exist without many of the conveniences of life would have puzzled Solomon in his best days, or before he took to accumulating wives and other females.

We were gratified by seeing our milk come from a tin, and we bottled it with a grin of satisfaction, as we thought what we got, and what the cabin was to receive. We kept our own counsel, and the old man never knew as much as he might have known had he questioned us.

We thanked the bright, vivacious *senora* and promised to come the next day, and get a fresh supply of milk, and we also agreed to give Pedro half a dozen cakes of ship-bread, something he was very anxious to taste, and when we returned to the vessel were scolded by the mate for being so long absent, just as though we could help ourselves, and, out of revenge for Mr. Prentice's ill-nature, we did not describe the milking scene to him, and the poor fellow died in ignorance, so it is just as well we kept silent.

The name Abarono as given by Thomes is evidently an American spelling of Briones as it was pronounced locally. John H. Brown, in his story of the *Early Days of San Francisco* calls her Baroma or Barona. It is quite possible that other spellings of the name were in use among the pioneers and travelers.¹²

She was still in Yerba Buena in April, 1846. On the 23rd of that month Leidesdorff in a letter to Leese at Sonoma wrote that

Dona Juana Briones wishes me to say to you that in case there should be any room in the launch, to be good enough to send her some of the grain you have for her. She also wishes you to give your good wife her respects, or rather muchas saludas, and say to her that the articles which she has here belonging to your wife, are under way sewing and will soon be done.

Brown, in his *Early Days of San Francisco*, also recalls that she was still in the *pueblo* at the beginning of that year. And Charles Brown testified in the Ojo de Agua de Figueroa land case that the widow still held this land and cultivated it and had a corral for her cattle, and that the soldiers killed some of her cattle so she was forced to move them to other pastures. Since the American soldiers arrived at the Presidio in March, 1847, this would indicate her probable residence in Yerba Buena at that date—unless the soldiers referred to were those of 1846 at the pueblo.

On November 7, 1844, Juana Briones purchased for \$300 the

Rancho Purisima Concepcion lying at the edge of the hills south of Mayfield. The rancho was a grant by Alvarado on June 30, 1840, to two Indians of the Santa Clara Mission, Jose Gorgonio and his son Jose Ramon, who had been occupying the land for the three preceding years. It was a grant of one league. Before the purchase the widow, in her usual cautious way, had written to Governor Micheltorena on October 30, for permission to make the purchase; on the same day Jimeno, the secretary of state, authorized her to appear before the San Jose *Alcalde* who had the power to authorize such a sale. On November 7, the *Alcalde* Maximo Martinez who had the neighboring rancho to her west, authorized the sale in conformity with the Jimeno document. What may be called a quit claim deed was issued by Jose Gorgonio on June 25, 1847, in order further to protect her interest in the land. In 1852, March 23, she made her claim for the rancho to the Board of Land Commissioners; the Board's confirmation two years later was finally approved by the District Court on April 17, 1856, and August 15, 1871, the patent was issued to her for 4,438.94 acres.¹³ So far as can be learned only once did any question of her peaceful possession arise; that was in 1847-48 when a purchaser of part of her neighboring rancho on the southeast, San Antonio, employed C. S. Lyman to survey his land. This survey was along her boundary, and to protect her interest she had Antonio Ynojosa write and sign a letter to the San Jose *Alcalde* to protect her property from any encroachment. The *alcalde*, James W. Weeks, on January 26, 1848, assured her in the possession of her land and that if any encroachment was found the matter could be brought before the courts as soon as they had been established in this jurisdiction. It is interesting to note that the surveyor C. S. Lyman who was making this survey was boarding with her while doing his field work, as will be noted below.

The exact date of her leaving Yerba Buena for her newly purchased Rancho Purisima Concepcion in Santa Clara County is unknown. The purchase was made on November 7, 1844, although the final deed was not given until two years later. It is very probable that she took possession, built a new and small adobe, dividing her time between the *pueblo* and her *rancho* until perhaps the second half of 1846 when she made the *rancho* her permanent home. At any rate she still kept possession of her *pueblo* land. Of her four lots at Northbeach she sold three, 455,470,471, to her son-in-law, Robert F. Ridley, on June 25, 1849; 454, on which the adobe mostly stood, she retained until the south half was sold on June 25, 1858 to Gilbert Fancher and the north half on October 18, 1858, to Henry Flannery, Jr. The Ojo de Agua de Figueroa she retained a few

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years longer, until April 2, 1862, when it was sold to Matilda Hill.¹⁴

From about 1846 to near the end of her days her life was centered in her *rancho* with occasional trips to Yerba Buena and to Santa Clara. She built a larger adobe a short distance from the Indian Roberto's adobe and corral, developed the *rancho* with grazing and agriculture. During her *rancho* days very little has been found regarding her. In late 1847 the half of San Antonio adjoining her on the southeast had been sold by the grantee Prado Mesa, and the purchaser arranged for a survey of his land by C. S. Lyman, who at that time was in California and who later was a professor at Yale. Lyman made a number of surveys of *ranchos* in the Santa Clara Valley and in the *pueblo* of San Jose and of the Oak Hill Cemetery south of that city. On January 19, 1848, Lyman wrote in his diary that "we find our quarters at Madam Briones quite comfortable. The family is composed of the widow Briones, three daughters, (two grown up), two or three boys, half a dozen Indians, two little pet pigs in the cook house and 15 or 20 dogs. The two older girls do the cooking; they are rather pretty looking, but like most Californians are dirty and slovenly. There are two sick persons in the house, an Indian girl, of fever, and a man, a sailor, apparently a Portuguese, who has a very bad cough, etc." Ten days later he wrote that "Juan Briones and two sons and one or two others started for San Francisco"; on the 20th he sent a man "to the mission 12 miles off to get a part of Madame Briones' papers translated by Mr. Forbes," and on the 26th he was "triangulating and surveying the lines along the Matadero and San Antonio, the boundaries of Juana Briones' ranch." On February 2, he noted that he returned to San Jose, and in May began the survey of the *pueblo*. Evidently this was one of the visits to the city when she still kept a home at Northbeach. On March 18, 1854, her brother Gregorio testified in a land case that in 1845 "I was here at the time on a visit to my sister Juana Briones who still resides here in the city."¹⁵

Evidently the trips to San Francisco were too long over the roads of those days; San Jose and Santa Clara, as Lyman stated, were only some 12 miles away. This may be the reason for her purchase of the three middle rooms in the long adobe of Jose Peña very shortly before his death. The deed is dated May 26, 1852, and its contents again reveal the care and caution of the purchaser. No mention is made of the land, but the dimensions of the three rooms are given in *varas* and *pulgados*, or in yards and inches. They have been identified as the rooms adjoining the present Women's Club in Santa Clara on the south. She retained these rooms for ten years;

on April 2, 1862, she sold them to Matilda Hill together with her lot at the Ojo de Agua Figueroa at the Presidio.¹⁶

During the following four decades her life was quite uneventful so far as can be learned. Her grandson, the late Tom Mesa of Mayfield, tells of her frequent trips to neighboring *ranchos*, to Mayfield, and Halfmoon Bay, to visit friends and relatives and to serve homely remedies to the sick.

In the early 1880's began a movement to collect data and testimonies regarding the life of Father Catalá of Mission Santa Clara. Father Catalá had been for long years the head of this Mission; during his early days the trees were planted along The Alameda between Santa Clara and San Jose, and he continued their care until his death in 1830. In 1882 Archbishop Alemany and his council decided to issue a "permit for an investigation into the life and virtues of the Reverend Missionary with the view of taking the necessary measures for having his name ultimately placed on the catalogue of the Saints." In 1884 testimony was taken, and Juana Briones testified as to her knowledge of his foresight and prophecies, and of his services to the people around the mission from 1818 onward.¹⁷

Two of her daughters, one of them the mother of the late Tom Mesa, were living in Mayfield; on October 15, 1883, she bought the lot between them at the northwest corner of Washington and Second, and later built the frame house which is still standing. She was, however, reluctant to leave the *rancho* where she had spent so many years, and where she had "everything she liked, horses and cattle and everything that goes with ranching." It was not until her health began to fail in the middle 1880's that the daughters were able to persuade her to move down from the *rancho* to Mayfield, where they could care for her. Here she spent her last years and died on December 3, 1889. The next day, a very rainy one, she was buried in the cemetery of the Church of the Nativity, Menlo Park. No stone marks her grave nor those of the other eleven members of the family in this lot. The lot is unmarked; it lies to the west of the plot marked Greer in the middle section near the entrance; Juana Briones lies in the southeast corner of lot next to her twin sister Luz, as described by Tom Mesa.¹⁸

Since only the date of her baptism is known and not the date of her birth, her exact age cannot be exactly determined but it was within a few days of 94 years. The Spanish and Mexicans of those days were usually without knowledge of their definite ages or the definite dates of their birth. These well preserved and aged Californians the pioneers regarded usually as much older than they

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really were. Charles Brown in 1878 wrote that "Juana Briones is still living at Mayfield nearly 100 years old, and of sound mind." And Davis wrote of Juana Briones "who lived to be a centenarian."¹⁹

No picture of this lady is now known to exist. The late Tom Mesa stated that there was one but it was burned in a fire, and that a Mrs. Gates had a copy; this lady is now dead and a search has failed to find her papers and records. Juana's grandson recalls her as very tall for a woman, fair in complexion, her hair parted in the middle, with a long string of black beads around her neck. Her voice was low and she spoke slowly even dragging her words. In the early days, in the 1840's, Thomes wrote of her voice as high and shrill especially when speaking to the servants. In her later days she was slightly stooped and walked with a long staff; but when she was angry she straightened to her full height, her eyes flashed, and she bore the dignity of a Spanish doña. A lavender shawl which she wore in her later days is still in the possession of the family of her daughter Narcisa, Mrs. Barcia of San Francisco.

Her hospitality has been mentioned by Clark in her making of Yerba Buena tea, and by Thomes in securing milk for the ships' crew. Her hospitality was that of the Spanish in California. Her service to others is noted in her aid given to the deserting sailors and to the sick and needy. As midwife she brought many of the provincial Californians into the world. During the 1840's some of this native hospitality to the foreigners may have been to her economic interest. Her care, caution, and business instinct are evidenced by the petitions for the Yerba Buena lots, for the Governors' permission to purchase Purisima Concepcion, her letters relative to her boundary line with San Antonio when it was surveyed by Lyman who was boarding with her when the letter was written, and the meticulous measurements given in her deed for the rooms of the Peña adobe. Though she, like so many of her fellow countrymen, could neither read nor write she insisted on documentary evidence of business dealings. Her energetic character was well noted by Thomes:

She always welcomed me with a polite good-morning, and a drink of fresh milk, and then scolded her servants in a shrill voice, as though she desired to infuse into them much of her own activity—which for a Mexican woman, was something wonderful. If the men had had some of the energy of that buxom, dark-faced lady, California would have been a prosperous state, even before it was annexed to this county, and we would have had to fight harder than we did to get possession.

Among the women of provincial California Juana Briones stands preeminent. Perhaps the best known of the daughters of

the province is Concepcion Arguello, who stands out because of her lifelong waiting for the return of her prince. Many women became grantees and patentees of *ranchos* which were petitioned for by their husbands. Other women stand out because of the prominence of their children as is the case of Maria Martino Botillier de Castro and Maria Ignacia Lopez de Carrillo. Juana Briones had no outstanding romance, in fact her life was burdened with an unworthy husband. With the exception of the lot at the Presidio she alone secured grants for the Northbeach home, Purisima Concepcion, the Santa Clara and Mayfield properties. She secured her own lands and managed them herself with no help from a worthy mate, no aid of sons-in-law, no assistance of note from her three sons, one of whom was mentally defective. Unable to read or write she conducted her affairs in a meticulous manner. She had the native Spanish hospitality and dignity, which endeared her to her people to the end of the Mexican regime and secured for her an abiding place in the memories of the American pioneers. No other Spanish or Mexican woman in California is known to have reached her position and maintained it through life as did this widow. Her native city, San Francisco, had been negligent of some of its outstanding pioneers; not even a street is named of the third and possibly second settler of Yerba Buena, the pioneer woman of Northbeach.

NOTES

1. Carmel baptism records 2099, 2100, in the Bishop's office, Fresno.
2. Land case 381 ND. in U.S. District Court, San Francisco. The late Tom Mesa, of Mayfield, a grandson of Juana Briones.
W. H. Davis, *Sixty Years in California*, (San Francisco, 1929), 569. Land Case 357 ND. The census of 1842 gives Miranda's age as 47 and hers as 39 which is understated by 7 years; also her birthplace is given as Santa Cruz — G. W. Dwinelle, *Colonial History of San Francisco*, (San Francisco, (1867), Add., 81.
3. Dolores marriage record, 1822. Archivo de los Misiones, (MS Bancroft), (389. Vallejo. *Documentos*, XV. 47.
4. Dpt. State Papers, San Jose, VI, 23, 28, 29, 34, (Bancroft Library). Land case 401 ND.
5. Dolores baptism records, 5919, 6467, (381), marriage record, 2154, Land Case 401 ND. *Documentos para la Historia de California*, 111, 46 (Bancroft Library). Dolores, Death record, 5515. In the San Francisco Directory of 1850 the names of Edward Briones is given with residence on Powell between Broadway and Vallejo. This residence is only a few blocks from Juana Briones old home, but what relation, if any, existed between them has not been learned. San Jose probate case 691. J. H. Brown, *Recollections*, (MS, Bancroft Library). Davis, *Seventy-five years*. (*op. cit.*) 196. Vallejo, *Documentos*, V, 267, 269ff. The census of 1842 of the San Francisco jurisdiction lists the following Miranda children: Presentacion, Tomas, Narcisa, Refugio, Jose de Jesus, and Manuel—Land case 427 ND.
6. Brown, *Recollections*, (*op. cit.*). Brown has antedated his arrival on the Bay by a few years; he landed in 1833 and not 1829, so 1832 should read 1834 or 1835. Land cases 401 ND, 421 ND.
7. Land case 401 ND. David B. Torres of San Francisco. Brown in Land case 401 ND; Davis and Leese, in Land case 427 ND. On January 30, 1838, Miranda

Juana Briones de Miranda

petitioned for a 100-vara in the Cañada de Yerba Buena, and the next day Alcalde De Haro made the grant. The exact location of the lot is unknown; the description fits the Powell-Filbert Streets lot but a number of others as well. Miranda in his petition asked for the lot for garden purposes; if this was really the Powell-Filbert Street lot and if the petition is correct, the implication is that the house there was built later than the suggested date.—Lot 454, Title and Guarantee Company.

8. G. W. Hendry and J. N. Bowman, *Spanish House in the San Francisco Bay Region*, Yerba Buena, No. 26. A. Robinson, *Life in California*, (San Francisco, 1891), 283, states that in 1829 Juana Briones had "a rude little cottage over the hill near Washerwoman's Bay, the property of the widow Briones." This date must be questioned if it refers to the Northbeach house. It would even be questioned if it referred to her house at the Ojo de Agua de Figueroa. J. S. Hittell, *History of San Francisco*, (San Francisco, 1885), 85, implies that her house fell at an early date and that at the end of the 1840's the kitchen alone remained. Marion Cowen, San Francisco, has an enlargement of a part of a large picture of San Francisco in the 1870's, which shows a ruins at about this site. Another picture, probably of the early 1860's, published in the *San Francisco Water*, July, 1924, shows one long and low house at this site. Sometimes her house at Northbeach is placed at Washerwoman's Bay which is around the point in the next valley toward the Presidio.
9. San Francisco Recorder, Spanish Records—translation, 112f. It is possible that a Spanish petition in the above book, 286-8, dated January 30, 1838, may have been the first petition. In it she asks alcalde De Haro for 100 varas located directly in the middle Cañada in Yerba Buena, and the next day the alcalde made the grant. Even though in the record book this grant is closely associated with the Ojo de Agua de Figueroa the context seems to imply a different piece of property. If this is the case she had apparently already been occupying the land for some months and erected a house on it.
10. Letter in Archives of the Archbishop of Los Angeles.
11. W. S. Clark, *Biographical Sketch*, MS, in possession of his daughter, Mrs. Jerome A. Hart, San Francisco. The deed of October 18, 1858, transferring lots 455, 470, 471, to Ridley, is signed by the widow and by Marie Presentacion Miranda de Ridley, Jose Tomas, Maria Norcisa, Maria del Refugio, Maria Manuela, Jose Dolores, and Jose Jesus Miranda (who signs Jose de Jesus).—Lot 454, Title and Guarantee Company. In her petition to the Governor on June 15, 1845, for the lot near Telegraph Hill she stated that he had relinquished to her husband the Ojo de Agua de Figueroa.—Lot 454, Title and Guarantee Company.
12. W. H. Thomes, *On Land and Sea* (Boston, 1884), 186f, 214. John H. Brown, *Early Days of San Francisco*, (San Francisco, 1933), 19, 96. Leidesdorff letter in Quarterly of Society of California Pioneers, VIII, 21. Land case 401 ND.
13. Land case ND.
14. Title Insurance and Guarantee Co., San Francisco, plant documents of these lots. San Jose deeds, P 393.
15. C. E. Lyman, *Around the Horn* (New Haven, 1924), 248f. Land case 381 ND.
16. San Jose deeds E 231, P 393. It no doubt was during these days that she became a close friend of Luis M. Peralta of San Jose and ranch San Antonio in Alameda County, and who was the last comisionado of Spain in the pueblo of San Jose.
17. Z. Engelhardt, *Holy Man of Santa Clara*. (San Francisco, 1909), 149, 160, 163, 165.
18. San Jose deeds 73:37. Letter from the late Tom Mesa, August 17, 1937. San Jose probate case 5284. Burial records, Church of the Nativity, Menlo Park.
19. J. H. Brown, *Recollections*, MS (Bancroft Library), Davis, *Seventy-five Years*, (op. cit.), 12.

Early Southern California Viniculture 1830-1865

By Iris Ann Wilson

1. PIONEER WINE PRODUCERS

THE WINE INDUSTRY IN CALIFORNIA is as old as the state's earliest settlements. After the Franciscans established their first mission at San Diego in 1769, they began cultivating vines brought in from Baja California to produce their necessary sacramental wine. With the subsequent founding of new missions, wine making spread northward, although the area of major concentration remained in Southern California until the late 1850's. Padres particularly noted for their success in viniculture were those at San Fernando, San Gabriel and San Antonio. Today visitors to Mission San Antonio may still see the remains of the great *bodegas*, or vats, in which wines pressed from mission grapes were kept for future use.¹

The padres, however, concentrated all their attention on a single variety of vine, somewhat mediocre in quality, which is now called by the appropriate, if not very original, name of Mission. Probably the reason the mission fathers failed to develop a superior type grape is that even though they considered wine an article of commerce, they produced it mainly for their own purposes.²

Prior to 1830 very few vines were cultivated by private individuals, although in 1824 Joseph Chapman, an early Los Angeles settler, planted 4,000 vines in a rather unsuccessful attempt to break into the wine industry.³ The greatest stimulation to the industry on a private commercial basis was provided by the secularization of the missions after 1830. This act on the part of the Mexican government caused the padres generally to abandon their vineyards and orchards, and consequently to relinquish their chief source of income—the production of wine. Since grape growing and wine making had become a major factor in the economy of the missions of Southern California, immigrants to the territory were quick to realize the potentialities of commercial viticulture.⁴

The suitability of California and particularly Los Angeles County as a grape producing area resulted from a combination of

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several factors. The virgin soil and temperate climate were ideal and California vineyards generally yielded a much larger crop than those in other parts of the world.⁵ A lack of severe storms and frost insured the success of the grape crop; the grapes required no irrigation; it was possible to make wine by fermentation without artificial heat during the winter; a greater variety of grapes could thrive on California soil than on soils elsewhere; and in the latter half of the 19th century land was relatively inexpensive in Los Angeles.⁸ In addition to wine making, the production of raisins and table grapes also proved to be a lucrative business.

Of the early pioneer settlers who capitalized upon this industry after 1830, two men are noted as becoming particularly successful viniculturists in the Los Angeles area. The first of these, a Frenchman bearing the somewhat appropriate name of Jean Louis Vignes, arrived in Los Angeles in 1831 from Monterey and immediately purchased 104 acres of land for the purpose of setting up a vineyard.⁷ The second, William Wolfskill, a native of Kentucky, also arrived in 1831 but did not purchase his first vineyard until 1838.

Apparently Louis Vignes was not satisfied with the variety of grape cultivated by the mission fathers as he began to import cuttings of prized French wine varieties which were shipped first to Boston and then around the Horn to California. Several varieties were in large enough quantities to be used in wine making in the early thirties.⁶ By 1839 Vignes had more than forty thousand vines thriving on his acreage which was located on part of the site of the present Los Angeles Union Station.⁹ By 1840 Don Luis was chartering ships, which he loaded at San Pedro, for regular shipments of wines and brandies to the ports of Santa Barbara, Monterey and San Francisco.¹⁰ Vignes continued his wine-making enterprises until 1855 when he sold his vineyard, called El Aliso, to his two nephews, Jean Louis and Pierre Sansevain, for \$42,000.¹¹ The Sansevain brothers later became famous not only as producers of quality wine but as pioneer wine merchants.

Following his arrival in Los Angeles, William Wolfskill, who had led a party of trappers from New Mexico to California and opened the Old Spanish Trail, engaged in an unsuccessful venture to hunt sea otter on the California coast. This proving to be an unprofitable business he soon directed his activities toward viniculture. In 1838 William and his brother John, who had arrived in Los Angeles in 1837, acquired a vineyard located on land formerly occupied by the Southern Pacific's Arcade Station. The Wolfskills received 4,000 vines with the purchase of this vineyard and by

1846 they had planted 32,000 vines.¹² Through the acquisition of adjacent lands, William—called “Don Guillermo” by his Spanish neighbors—had increased his holdings to 145 acres and 60,000 vines in 1858.¹³ John S. Hittell lists the Wolfskill vineyards as containing 85,000 vines in his statistics for the year 1862.¹⁴

The quality of wine produced by Wolfskill is expressed by Edwin Bryant, who visited the ranch in 1847, and commented that the wine “compared favorably with the best French and Madeira wines.”¹⁵ An article appearing in the *Wilmington Journal* in 1857 stated that “H. D. Barrows of Los Angeles . . . sailing for the east tomorrow is taking on a barrel of Los Angeles wine to President Buchanan from the celebrated Wolfskill Vineyard.”¹⁸ The paper later reported that Mr. Barrows “had called on President Buchanan and for himself and Mr. Wm. Wolfskill . . . presented Mr. Buchanan with various specimens of California wines and fruits, which he brought from the Pacific side for that purpose. They consisted of a barrel of fine old California port, made by Mr. Wolfskill from his own vineyard, probably the largest in California . . .”¹⁷

Before fruit was raised to any great extent in the central and northern part of the state, and even some time into the 60's, Wolfskill and other Los Angeles vineyardists, which included John Rowland, the Sansevain Brothers and others, shipped large quantities of grapes to San Francisco. These grapes in 1851 and '52 brought twenty cents per pound in the city and as high as seventy-five cents in the interior.¹⁸ Arpad Haraszthy states that in 1852 and '53 grapes selling in and around Los Angeles on the vines for two to six cents per pound brought from fifty cents to one dollar in San Francisco as there was no one there to supply the demand.¹⁹

During the grape season of 1857, according to the records kept by the port of San Pedro, 21,000 boxes were shipped to San Francisco; and at times Mr. Wolfskill shipped as many as 500 boxes of grapes on a single steamer.²⁰ However, this does not mean he had ceased his wine making activities. In 1859, which was reported as an unfavorable season, the total vintage for the state was 340,000 gallons of wine of which William Wolfskill produced 50,000 gallons or a little over 1/7 of the total.²¹

An idea of the value of the vineyards in Southern California can be gained from the Los Angeles County Assessor's returns for 1858 as corrected by the Board of Equalization. Those taxpayers whose property was assessed at \$10,000 or more included William Wolfskill, \$80,000, third highest in the county; Sansevain Brothers, \$40,000; John Rowland, \$35,712; and Matthew Kellar, \$35,325.²²

The man whom Bancroft calls “the first wine manufacturer

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of the state'' was one of the leaders of an expedition which arrived in California in 1841 from New Mexico.²³ John Rowland, a native of Pennsylvania, engaged in beaver trapping west of Santa Fe until his marriage to a Spanish woman in Taos. Having built a flour mill and distillery and established himself in the mercantile business, it took some resolution and considerable planning for Rowland to dispose of his holdings and make necessary arrangements for the journey and for starting anew in a strange country.²⁴ He and his partner, William Workman, led a party of about twenty-five men and several families over the Old Spanish Trail to California.²⁵

Rowland and Workman worked fast and successfully in the territory and within three months after their arrival they had obtained the excellent La Puente Rancho of some 48,000 acres near the San Gabriel Mission.²⁶ Planting extensive vineyards on his portion of the ranch, Rowland cultivated a tremendous grape crop. He constructed a still on his property and began producing large quantities of wine which he sold commercially throughout the 50's and 60's.

2. METHODS USED IN THE PRODUCTION OF WINE

A large part of the grape yield was bought by the firm of Kohler and Frohling who established a wine house in San Francisco in 1855. These two men had fled Germany after the upheaval in 1848 and came to America as musicians. Kohler, who organized the German Concert Society in San Francisco, intended to dispose of the wines in the city while Frohling, his flutist, was to manufacture them in Los Angeles.²⁷ When they lost in wine ventures they played in theaters until they had saved up enough to get back into the business. By 1857 the firm of Kohler and Frohling was established on a sound basis and the volume was sufficient to warrant the full-time hiring of a wagon and team of horses.²⁸

From a total production in 1856 of 15,000 gallons, their vintage increased to more than 100,000 gallons in 1858. By 1860 the firm had shipped over \$70,000 worth of wine outside of California and had established a branch office in New York.²⁹ Beside the produce from their 22,000 bearing vines in Los Angeles, they annually purchased the grape crop of more than 350 acres of Los Angeles vineyards, which they stored in the cellars of the City Hall as well as at nearby wineries. During the vintage they employed an average of 150 men to pick, crush and prepare the wine for fermentation.³⁰

Kohler and Frohling bought the grapes from the vineyards of William Wolfskill, John Rowland, Antonio Coronel, Matthew Keller and others for about three cents a pound, and the firm was

entitled to use the wine cellars and presses located on the property of the various grape producers.³¹ In a column entitled "Letter from Los Angeles" which appeared weekly in the *San Francisco Daily Bulletin*, Henry D. Barrows describes the process of wine-making at Wolfskill's vineyard as it was carried on by Kohler and Frohling in 1859. He uses this vineyard as a representative sample of the general mode of operation in Los Angeles at the time and states as follows:

They employ about 40 hands, two-thirds of whom are engaged in picking and hauling in the grapes; the balance are at work about the presses or in the cellars. The grapes are cut off by the stem from the vine and carried in baskets to the crossroads running through the vineyard and turned into tubs holding from 150 to 200 pounds (or as large as two men can easily handle) which are hauled in one horse carts to the press where they are weighed, and then turned into a large "hopper" which has an apron or strong wire sieve, through which they are "stemmed."³²

It was generally the practice of European wine makers to use a stemmer with a wooden grating because most of the baser metals were corroded by the acid of the grape. Californians, however, seemed to favor the wire grating.³³ After the stems are thrown out, the next step is to mash the grape. This is done

... when the latter is run through a mill consisting of two grooved iron cylanders [sic] so gauged as to run as closely as possible together without mashing the seeds. The grooves of one cylinder are longitudinal and of the other spiral. This method is quicker, less laborious and far more decent than the old way of "treading out" the grapes, which in a measure has passed away, as it should.

Although this method [treading with bare feet] is as old as the hills and is still followed in many extensive wine-growing countries, allow me to suggest through your columns, as a good field for Yankee ingenuity to spread itself, the invention of the best machine for mashing grapes for making wine. The machine described above in most respects, however, works admirably—better than any other I ever saw. By it the mere crushing of the grape is done by two men more easily than probably ten men could do the same work by any of the old methods of tramping, malls, or what not.³⁴

In regard to the crushing of the grapes, E. H. Rixford comments that "many of the best writers of today [1883] are of the opinion that the wine is better when the grapes have been well trodden with the bare feet . . ." but continues to say that Californians, in contrast to many Europeans, regard treading as an antiquated practice and a relic of the past. He further surmises that "those who are fastidious in this matter may rest assured, that if they will drink California wine, they run but very small risk of imbibing a liquid which a man has had his feet in."³⁵ By 1865 various machines and processes

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had been invented for the purpose of crushing and expressing the juice from the grape, a popular one consisting of India rubber covered cylinders which crushed the berry without breaking the seed.³⁶

Mr. Barrows continues to describe what happens to the grape as it is being made into wine:

After being ground, the pommace runs down into a vat, on the bottom of which is a grating through which the juice of the grape runs, whence it is conveyed into tubs for white wines. The pommace is taken directly into spiral screw presses and subjected to moderate pressure, the runnings from which make pale or yellow wine, like sherry. The grape skins are then put into large tubs to ferment six or eight days for red wine, or longer, when the residue of their vinous property is extracted in *aguardientes* by distillation.³⁷

The process of fermentation followed in these early days generally consisted of pouring the juice into large casks, usually holding about 140 gallons each, until they contained about 115 gallons of must. A considerable surface of the wine was left exposed to the air in order to favor fermentation. The process began in three or four days and the period of greatest activity was completed in another three or four. The maintenance of the temperature at the proper degree of 65° F. was of great importance in preventing spoilage. The wine-maker poured in six or eight gallons of fresh juice every day until the cask was full, and then the long process of aging began.³⁸ The casks were generally stored in cellars although at times they were sent on long sea voyages to complete the aging of the wine.³⁹

Meanwhile, back at the ranch, Mr. Frohling is directing the activities of his workers.

. . . He has in his employ four men who are cleaning off the stems; this they do by pushing the grapes through the sifter with their hands; two men turn the mill by cranks; two feed the hopper; one weighs the grapes; three or four attend to the wine as it comes from the mill and the presses; five or six do the pressing and carry off the pommace to the fermenting vats; one, two or three attend to washing, cleansing and sulphuring of grapes; and three teams are constantly employed in hauling in the grapes. Every night all the presses and appliances used about them are all washed thoroughly to prevent acidity. Everything that comes in contact with the grape juice from the time the grape is bruised till it reaches the cask is kept as pure as an abundance of water and hard scrubbing can make it.

During five days of last week, commencing on Tuesday, 160,000 pounds or 80 tons of grapes were turned into wine at Mr. Wolf-skill's place, yielding about 10,000 gallons of wine, exclusive of a balance left in pommace for brandy, which is considerable.⁴⁰

Apparently E. H. Rixford knew even faster workers as he writes

that on an average five men—one to handle the boxes of grapes, two to stem, standing on opposite sides of the stemmer; one to operate the crusher; and one to take the stems and remove the remaining grapes—could stem and crush with hand machines twenty tons of grapes per day, enough to make three thousand gallons of wine.⁴¹

Further in his article Barrows cites the progress of work at other vineyards in the area.

Mr. Frohling finished making wine out at "Puente" last week both at Mr. Workman's and Mr. Rowland's vineyards. This week he commences on his own and Mr. Coronel's vineyards besides continuing operations at Mr. Wolfskill's place where he is nearly half done. During the present vinification he employs something over 60 men.⁴²

3. CONCLUSION

During the period from the late 1830's to the early 60's William Wolfskill, John Rowland and the others mentioned in this paper were certainly not the only wine-growers in the Los Angeles area, but they were of the most successful. Others who entered the industry during the 60's were later to become leading producers. Leonard J. Rose, whose first vintage from his ranch at Sunny Slope near the San Gabriel Mission was in 1864, had shipped wine around the Horn to New York by 1869.⁴³ Also during the sixties the extent of the grape acreage and the productivity of vine and soil made Anaheim, a German settlement east of Los Angeles, one of the leading viticultural areas of California.⁴⁴

Among the problems faced by the wine industry at this time were the falsification of labels, giving rise to a bad reputation for California wines, and the lack of suitable containers for both domestic sale and out-of-state shipment.⁴⁵ For some time much of the better California wine was bottled under a foreign label while the poorer wines both from within the state and elsewhere were marked with California labels. As California became better known as a wine-producing area and the demand for its wines grew, this type of activity was eventually reduced. To solve the container problem, the Pacific Glass Works was incorporated in October of 1862 with the support of Charles Kohler, and the first wine bottle was blown in June, 1863.⁴⁶ Financially unprofitable in the beginning, the consistently large demands of the wine growers insured its success in a short time.⁴⁷

From its earliest beginnings the wine industry in Southern California especially Los Angeles was big business. Although it suffered a few major setbacks, the most important ones resulting from the ravages of the insect phylloxera in 1870 and the ruination of the market by Prohibition in the 1920's, commercial viniculture

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has remained an important factor in the economy of Southern California, as well as the entire state, until the present time.

NOTES

1. *Wine of California*, (Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway Co., 1937), p. 10.
2. Philip M. Wagner, *A Wine-Grower's Guide*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1945), p. 24.
3. Hubert H. Bancroft, *History of California*, (San Francisco: The History Company, 1890), II, p. 767.
4. Vincent Carosso, *The California Wine Industry, 1830-1895*, (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1951), p. 7.
5. John S. Hittell, *The Resources of California*, (San Francisco: A. Roman & Company, 1863), p. 197.
6. T. Hart Hyatt, *Handbook of Grape Culture*, (San Francisco: H. H. Bancroft and Company, 1867), p. 20.
7. Philip Wagner, *op. cit.*, p. 26; Claude Hutchison, ed., *California Agriculture*, Berkeley University of California Press, 1946), p. 29.
8. Vincent Carosso, *op. cit.*, p. 8; Idwal Jones, *Vines in the Sun*, (New York: William Morrow & Company, 1949), p. 212.
9. Vincent Carosso, *op. cit.*, p. 9.
10. Wine Advisory Board, *Wine Handbook Series*, (San Francisco: California Wine Advisory Board, 1943), p. 7.
11. Pierre Sansevain, Los Angeles, Calif., to Arpad Haraszthy, Buena Vista, Calif., June 2, 1886, L. S., *The Haraszthy Family Papers*, The Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California.
12. John Wolfskill, "Biographical Sketch," *H. H. Bancroft Collection*, The Bancroft Library, Berkeley, Calif., MS 56164, p. 2.
13. "Report of the Visiting Committee," *Transactions of the California State Agricultural Society for 1858*, p. 287.
14. *Op. cit.*, p. 200.
15. *What I Saw in California*, (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1848), p. 412.
16. "California Offerings to President Buchanan," *Wilmington Journal*, April 24, 1857, p. 2.
17. "Products of California," *Wilmington Journal*, June 3, 1857, p. 2.
18. H. D. Barrows, "Story of a Pioneer," *Wilmington Journal*, October 20, 1866, p. 4.
19. "Wine Making in California," *Overland Monthly*, o.s. VII (December, 1871), p. 490. Arpad was the son of Col. Agoston Haraszthy, a Hungarian who is generally regarded as the "father of the California wine industry." Arriving in San Diego in 1849, Agoston experimented with numerous foreign wine varieties which he introduced throughout the state after 1850. His period of greatest activity was in the late 1850's in Sonoma County, where he planted 85,556 vines of approximately 166 varieties. Arpad became one of the founders of the champagne industry in the state through his work with the Buena Vista Vinicultural Society after 1862.
20. H. D. Barrows, *op. cit.*, p. 4.
21. *San Francisco Daily Bulletin*, November 8, 1859, p. 1; Benj. Hayes in his "Notes on California Affairs," *Bancroft MS*, states that in 1859 Wolfskill produced 449,000 pounds of grapes at a value of \$337,000.
22. *The Southern Vineyard*, September 18, 1858, p. 2. Property then, as now, was assessed at approximately 50% or less of its actual value. Abel Stearns property is listed at \$186,586 and John Temple's at \$89,556 but theirs included valuable business holdings as well.
23. H. H. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 331.
24. *Los Angeles Herald*, October 15, 1873, p. 3.
25. John Rowland, "Lista de los que acompanan al sur, que suscribe en su llegado al territorio de la Alta California," MS, The Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California.
26. Benjamin D. Wilson, "Observations on Early Days in California and New Mexico," *Bancroft MS*, December, 1877. B. D. Wilson was a member of the Rowland-Workman party and accompanied Rowland to Monterey when he petitioned for the grant of La Puente Rancho.
27. Idwal Jones, *Vines in the Sun*, p. 241.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 242.

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29. *Cozzens' Wine Press*, I (January 20, 1859), as quoted by Vincent Carosso in *California Wine Industry, 1830-1895*, p. 32.
30. Charles Kohler, "Wine Production in California," *Bancroft Collection*, The Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California, MS.
31. "Story of an Old Pioneer," *Los Angeles World*, October 14, 1887, p. 4.
32. *San Francisco Daily Bulletin*, October 24, 1859, p. 3. H. D. Barrows lived at the home of William Wolfskill during this time as a tutor for Wolfskill's six children and for those of John Wolfskill, John Rowland, Lemuel Carpenter, and other neighbors. In 1863 Barrows married W. Wolfskill's daughter and continued to write prolifically.
33. E. H. Rixford, *The Wine Press and the Cellar*, (San Francisco: Payot, Upham & Co., 1883), p. 23.
34. Henry D. Barrows, *op. cit.*, p. 3.
35. *The Wine Press and the Cellar*, p. 23.
36. T. Hart Hyatt, *Handbook of Grape Culture*, p. 201.
37. Henry D. Barrows, *op. cit.*, p. 3.
38. John S. Hittell, *Resources of California*, pp. 202-204; T. Hart Hyatt, *op. cit.*, p. 203; Hubert H. Bancroft, *History of California*, VII, p. 49.
39. T. Hart Hyatt, *op. cit.*, p. 204.
40. Henry D. Barrows, *op. cit.*, p. 3.
41. *Op. cit.*, p. 24.
42. Henry D. Barrows, *op. cit.*, p. 3.
43. Dana H. Jones, *L. J. Rose and the Founding of Rosemead*, Los Angeles: First State Bank of Rosemead, 1953), p. 8.
44. Harris Newmark, *Sixty Years in Southern California*, (New York: The Knickerbocker Press, 1926), p. 213.
45. Vincent Carosso, *The California Wine Industry, 1830-1895* p. 34.
46. Charles Kohler, "Wine Production in California," *Bancroft Collection*, The Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California, MS.
47. Vincent Carosso, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

The Life and Death *of a* Quicksilver Mine

By Helen Rocca Goss

PART II — CAMP AND HOME LIFE



LIKE A MILITARY POST, A MINING CAMP, however small it may be, is a miniature world of its own, where isolation itself tends to develop a strong bond of mutual dependence and of community spirit. When the camp is a sizable one, such as the Great Western was (at its peak it had as many inhabitants as some of the towns in the neighborhood), the number and character of community endeavors can be rather impressive.

At first glance a mining community often seemed raw and harsh, even to one coming from only a short distance away. Further acquaintance, however, usually increased respect for the camp's good qualities, and in time those who were originally repelled by the crudeness were won over and settled down to live there happily. My mother's experience is a case in point. As Mary Thompson of Elk Grove, Sacramento County, in the spring of 1879 she was completing her second year of teaching in Calistoga when the schools there were suddenly closed because of a shortage of funds. This financial crisis in the schools created a similar one for the teachers, and when Mary was offered a position for three months at the Great Western, she accepted it, but not without misgivings about going to so isolated a spot. Just after she reached the mine and before she had the remotest idea that she would marry the superintendent the following year and remain there for more than twenty years, she wrote her first rather unfavorable impressions of the place in

a letter of April 1, 1879, to her family. The following paragraphs are excerpts from that letter:

Did I ever describe to you Joaquin Miller's play "The Danites," in which a young woman went into the mining region to teach? If I did, call it to mind and you will have a fair idea of my experiences, present and to come. At the present moment I am sitting at the window of a little boarding house in the most mountainous part of Lake Co. I am on the very top of a hill, looking down a lovely canon. Off to my left is the mine and mill buildings and about half a mile, *straight down* is—my schoolhouse, a tiny little white cottage in the distance. I expect to commence teaching tomorrow. The Great Western is a quicksilver mine and a very extensive one. They employ about 200 Chinese, and perhaps 25 white men. We have a daily mail but no P. O., the mail for the mine being sent from Calistoga . . .

The stage ride was perfectly splendid—over St. Helena Mt. and on this side through wild mountain scenery which is perfectly grand and beautiful. At "the Western Gate" I left the stage and took another conveyance which brought me about two miles straight up hill (for the road is exactly perpendicular) to the "Store"—a 7 x 9 affair. The Assistant Supt. then escorted me up to the Boarding house.¹ My trunk was afterwards packed up by a couple of Chinamen as the road [to the boarding house] is so steep a team cannot get up here. How is that for a hilly country?

This [is] a plain little unfurnished house. My room is a little uncarpeted affair, with a "thumb latch" (is that the name?) on the door. Fare pretty good. The Supts. of the mine and myself have a private dining room, so I don't see much of the workmen. My stay here will only be temporary, as I would prefer board in a private family. I don't know what kind of a place I will find. The family where I intend applying for board live by the schoolhouse, but they have a very small house and a large family, so I don't know how I'll fare there. If I can only get a good place to board I shall be very fortunate. The people who keep this house are very kind and obliging.

The Mine Supt. Mr. Rocker [*sic*] is the trustee. I haven't seen him yet, but people speak in very high terms of him. He came back last night from the City, so I suppose I will see him this morning. The other trustee called yesterday, but he don't [*sic*] know anything. He is "an honest miner," and I'll describe him when I get home. I didn't know a soul in the place when I came here. The school is said to be a very disorderly affair but I think I can straighten that out . . .

. . . I am sorry but suppose I will be home *sometime*. I shall expect you to remember that I am out of the world, and so to write often. I don't

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think there is any one here I will care to make friends of, but I suppose the time will pass *someway* . . .

Numerous other letters of the era also testify to Mary's unhappiness in her new environment during her first few weeks at the mine. Her own letters to her friend and fellow-teacher, Mabel Boyd, are not available to me, even if by chance they are still in existence. But Mabel's replies are, and some of her comments are revealing. On April 3, 1879, for example, she wrote in part:

Well Dear, it is hard enough for you isn't it? Don't for mercy sake go to those Hills if they have ten in [the] family & only three bed-rooms. Keep your own little prison, you will feel better for you will hefto [*sic*] sleep with some *one* of them if not with *two* or *three*. The Trustees seem to be very kind indeed. Try and stick your three months out anyway . . .

Three weeks later Mabel was writing: "I am sorry you have been so sick dear, but eat all you *possibly* can if they charge you such an exorbitant price for board." By the end of April, however, Mary's somewhat disdainful attitude toward her surroundings (except for the scenery, which she admired from the first) began to undergo a marked change. No longer feeling a little sorry for herself, she was obviously commencing to have a good time. She had expected to return to her Elk Grove home by the end of June, but on the 29th of that month her brother John wrote:

. . . we had been looking for some tidings of your homecoming . . . but instead I hear that you don't know when you will come home. At any rate we were very glad to hear from you in such a cheerful strain as your last intimate . . . You seem to have more exciting times than we do over here and so have more to write about.

And on July 18, 1879, Mary herself wrote home:

. . . you asked when I would be home—if ever. Well, it is rather uncertain, though if nothing unexpected occurs, I suppose not for three or four months anyway. It is so cool and pleasant up here that I am getting along nicely, though I have been teaching so constantly. Next week will complete twelve school months, $7\frac{3}{4}$ at Calistoga and $4\frac{1}{4}$ here with only the Christmas vacation. I could take a vacation if I wished, but think I had better continue on. So if you keep well, I don't suppose I will be home for some time . . .

Mary then urged her brother to tell a family friend of theirs,

who was planning a trip somewhere into the mountains, to come to Lake County by all means. "There is every inducement here," she continued, "Springs, lakes, scenery, climate, trout, deer, etc." And toward the end of her letter, she said rather archly that one of the trustees had suggested that she tell her family she wasn't coming home, that she had "taken the school *for good*, and for *you* to come and see me." Having received that communication, it was no surprise to the Thompson family to hear by the end of July of Mary's engagement to Andrew Rocca.²

After their marriage in April, 1880, my parents lived for about fifteen months in several rooms at the boarding house (a "suite" would be too elegant a word to describe their simple accommodations), pending the completion of a house which the company began building for them in the autumn of that year. That was a relatively carefree period for Mother, and she spent much time with Father, accompanying him on his inspection tours of the mine, on his business trips to Middletown, Calistoga, and, on at least one occasion, San Francisco—"the City," as it was always called in the country. Whenever Father could spare the time the two of them alone or with mine friends went on such pleasure jaunts as long walks, horseback-rides, and fishing expeditions. One interesting experience they had in their early married life was that of meeting another and more famous honeymooning couple—Robert Louis Stevenson and his bride Fanny, who, after their marriage in May, 1880, first spent a little time in Calistoga, then a longer period in the deserted mining camp on the side of Mount St. Helena which Stevenson immortalized in *The Silverado Squatters*. During their stay in the neighborhood, my parents became acquainted with the Stevensons and saw them several times. They found Stevenson a very charming man—kind, gentle, full of fun, and though obviously ill, always sweet-tempered and uncomplaining. Fanny Stevenson made considerably less appeal to them, Mother later saying that they thought she was rather dictatorial, too outspoken and inconsiderate of the feelings of others.³

The ordinary life of the camp with its gaiety, its tragedy, its crises, is accurately reflected in Mother's letters to her family through the years. This is especially true of the early 1880's, when

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her family was still small enough so that she had time to write at length. She would write of the informal parties in the hall at the boarding house ("four couples and two musicians, a very pleasant time."); of the musical evenings ("We have a splendid violinist and guitar player here now, and we have music nearly every evening."); of the games they played ("We have a Croquet ground now and have a champion game nearly every evening"); and of her excursions underground. "I was in the Mine this morning," she wrote on May 21, 1880. "There has been a cave . . . which was what I wanted to see. The Celestials were working away the same as ever. I am getting to be quite a miner, as I have been through the mine and furnaces with so many different parties. When you come up . . . you will find me to be quite a competent guide." Fishing expeditions are mentioned frequently, and on May 11, 1880, she described such an excursion in detail. Three couples had set out to drive to an unusually fine fishing stream beyond the saw-mill. A broken axle forced them to walk more than five miles "up and down hills and over the rocks," until at last they "came to a beautiful fishing ground." She then continued in part:

It was a deep canon with clear ice-cold water dashing over the rocks, and you could see the little beauties darting at the bait the moment it was thrown in. We fished, ate lunch, [then] walked two or three miles [more] until we came to a place where we could get a conveyance to take us home. It was a long walk but I enjoyed the excursion every bit of it. We did not get there until late and had only a short time to fish, but we caught quite a large number. The next day one of the gentlemen who was in our party went fishing again and he alone caught *146 trout* . . . Come up everybody and we will fish, hunt and drive around as much as you like.

Not every hour flowed by quite so charmingly as the above excerpts would suggest, and in a letter of May 29, 1880, Mother described one particularly distressing day. She had previously written that every one was much interested in the approaching marriage of one of the young girls living at the mine then and that they were all invited to the wedding. This is her description of the wedding day:

This week has been one of excitement at the Mine, but none of it of a pleasant nature . . . Last Wednesday was the day appointed for

———'s wedding, and the Saturday before [the prospective groom] came . . . All the preparations went on until *half an hour* before the time appointed for the ceremony, when she told him she would not marry him! And no persuasions could induce her to do so, though everybody talked to her. She had no reason in the world, only that she did not like him as well as she expected to. I never heard of a girl doing such a thing in my life . . . It was known to everybody, which makes it worse. The wedding guests all arrived, and you can imagine what a state of confusion the place was in.

It was doomed to be an unlucky day, for in the afternoon an accident occurred in the Mine by which a white man was severely injured, his chest being bruised and two bones in his ankle being broken, besides a deep scalp wound. He has been taken to the City for treatment. And so the day ended . . .

Sometimes, too, Mother wrote amusingly of one of the numerous mining camp crises she witnessed in her long years at the Great Western, as in this excerpt from a letter of June 19, 1881:

We all had such a fright the other day, but fortunately it did not result seriously. A little daughter of one of the engineers was bitten by a snake, supposed to be a rattlesnake. Her father was terribly frightened and rushed down, begging every one he met to tell him what to do, and then rushed on without waiting for a reply. Well every woman of us grabbed *our whiskey bottle* and ran to the little things relief. We poured rock and rye down her throat and bound whiskey and tobacco on the wound, and our treatment proved a success, and in a day or two she was about well. They live up a long hill from here, and such a picture as we made hurrying up there with our *bottles*—one case where whiskey and tobacco were of good use.

The superintendent's home was in the course of construction for a long time, and Mother frequently despaired of ever getting away from the boarding house. That she had good reason to wish to get away from it is apparent in a letter she wrote on October 10, 1880, urging her family to come to see them just as soon as the new house was completed. "I would say come sooner," she said, "but there is not a room here that I would be willing for you to occupy owing to certain unmentionable animals that already have possession—'Nine points of the law' in this case, and at times ten." On January 3, 1881, when her baby was due in less than a month, she had obviously given up hope of the child being born in the new home and she wrote: "When am I to have a visit from you folks?

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No use waiting for the house to be done, for that 'May be for years, and it may be *forever*'."

The baby was born in the boarding house and was none the worse for it.⁴ As he did when each child was born, Father wrote a brief letter to the Thompsons announcing the birth and adding a word to the effect that "May will write you all of the particulars in a few days." One of the so-called "particulars" of that event has since become a family classic. When it became apparent that they would not be able to move into their own home for several months, my parents had had the bathtub ordered for that house set up in a room adjoining theirs at the boarding house. The plain zinc tub, which stood high on its ungraceful feet, was indeed a primitive forerunner of the sleek, stream-lined, snowy-white ones taken for granted in modern bathrooms, but it was an almost unheard of luxury in a mining camp in the 1880's. The tub immediately became an object of curiosity and admiration to the attending physician, old Dr. Parsons, from "over the hill," beyond the sawmill, the only doctor then available. Dr. Parsons, who had probably never before seen and certainly never used one of these strange contraptions, asked and received Father's permission to get into the tub. In a relatively free moment while waiting for the baby to arrive, Dr. Parsons, fully clothed even to boots and Prince Albert coat, climbed into the empty tub, stretched out at full length, and remained there for some time "to see what it would feel like to take a bath in that position." This was one of Father's favorite tales, acted out as all his stories were, and told with great hilarity. Later on, Mother was able to laugh about it, too, but when it happened I believe she found it far more disconcerting than amusing to have her physician abandon her in the midst of her first experience with childbirth to carry on his own scientific investigations of the bathtub. She held no grudge against him, however, and frequently testified to his medical skill. "We had our old standby Dr. Parsons and he broke the fever immediately," she wrote home on February 11, 1883, in reporting on an illness her daughter Lillian had had.

The house was finally completed, and the family moved into it in mid-summer of 1881.⁵ It was worth waiting for, because it was

not only comfortable and roomy but really luxurious by mining camp standards of the day. The house faced south toward Mount St. Helena and had a charming setting on a slight elevation with other wooded hills around it. It was far enough away from the mine buildings to be secluded, yet close enough to be in easy walking distance of those buildings when Father made the round trip there several times a day. Originally the main part of the house had eight rooms, four on each floor, separated by a spacious hallway, with an ell at the back of the house containing the kitchen, a work-room, and a maid's room. In 1895, to meet the needs of an enlarged family (there were six children by that time), a bedroom was added to each floor at the back of the house.⁶

The house was furnished in what was considered good taste at the time. The parlor had a crystal chandelier and hanging kerosene lamp in the center of the room, a marble-topped center table with claw and ball feet, a sofa and chairs of dark wood, upholstered in horsehair, which the older children remember as "scratching unmercifully." In the dining room there was a massive walnut table and matching chairs, plus a large built-in china closet. The room around which the life of the home really centered was the "office"—Father's work-room and the family sitting room combined, the only room in the house with a fireplace. The office furniture was less formal and considerably more comfortable than that in the parlor. Beside Father's big desk and an old-fashioned iron safe, there were a built-in bookcase, comfortable chairs, and a sofa. On cold days a cheery fire always glowed on the hearth. The kitchen had a sink and drainboard, with hot and cold running water—a convenience to be marvelled at in those days. All of the furniture in the house belonged to the company, but the Emerson piano standing in one corner of the parlor belonged to the Rocca family.

The storage space under the house was quite as spacious as the house itself. The large cellar under the kitchen was, as Florence writes, "always full of hundreds of cans of fruit, crocks of mince meat and of jam, boxes of apples, rows of jelly glasses on the shelves, and hams and sides of bacon hanging from the ceiling," while the brick basement under the rest of the house was full of neatly stacked wood for the stoves and the fireplace.⁷

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Like most country families in the period the Roccas raised their own chickens, ducks, geese, and sometimes turkeys, usually kept a cow, one or two horses, and a few pigs. Chicken hawks, skunks, and owls were a constant menace to the fowls in the wild, mountainous country, and sometimes a hawk would swoop down on a young chicken and carry it away, while the owls seemed to specialize in turkeys. Once the carcass of a young turkey was found hanging on the clothesline, offering mute testimony to the visit of such a marauder.

Since both of my parents were fond of flowers and all growing things—a very strong bond between them—it was natural that they should begin to plan their gardening and landscaping at the earliest possible moment. From a small beginning in the early spring of 1882, there was developed through the years not only an attractive flower garden but an excellent family orchard and vineyard as well.⁸ Additions were constantly being made, and Mother would report in her diary that “Chinamen building fence and enclosing new grounds for orchard, grubbing out trees, etc.,” that “Weather fine and resumed gardening. Ah Cat and Ah Li helping.,” that she had “planted 23 roses from Sunset Co.,” or that “Mr. R.” now had “58 fruit trees and 90 vines in.” Eventually the vineyard on the west side of the house had a fine selection of all kinds of table grapes from the earliest Sweetwaters to Tokays. The orchard on the other side of the house provided an equally wide choice of such fruits and nuts as peaches, pears, plums, apples, figs and walnuts.

As the older children in the family remember our house in the late 1880's and the 1890's, large laurestinus shrubs grew on either side of the front gate, there were snowball and jasmine bushes near the front door, and long flower beds flanked the walk from the gate to the house. The beds had low borders of such flowers as violets and pansies, then a tall border of many different varieties of chrysanthemums, and finally bush roses in the center.⁹ The house itself and its porches were partly covered by several climbing roses—an immense white Lady Banksia, a smaller yellow Lady Banksia, a Crimson Rambler, and a Cecile Brunner—and by English ivy, Virginia creeper, and trumpet vine. In time the downstairs porches were almost entirely screened in with the thick vines, which furn-

ished deep shade on the hottest summer day. Mother was particularly successful with roses and had a marvellous collection of all the choicest varieties then available. Her chrysanthemums bloomed in profusion, too, and on November 2, 1892, she said in her diary: "Chrysanthemums beautiful, 29 varieties now in bloom." She definitely had a green thumb and could make almost anything grow. She was deeply interested in grafting, and after long and patient experimentation became skillful at grafting roses and fruit trees especially. By the time I was a child, she did all the necessary grafting of the fruit trees, and she had several rose bushes which produced as many as three entirely different blooms.

Another pursuit in which my mother was almost as expert as she was in gardening was sewing—a necessity as well as a pleasure for her. With the assistance of Carrie Shaw, Mother's friend and companion who lived in our home for many years, she made almost all of the children's clothing, her own house dresses ("mother hubbards" and "wrappers"), and the household linens as well. She would order samples from O'Connor & Moffat in San Francisco, or from Hale Brothers in Sacramento and study them carefully before she made her selections. When the materials arrived, there would be long days of sewing—days when the diary entries simply read: "Busy sewing for the children," or "Sewing and nothing new to write."¹⁰ There was always a canary in the family, and each one seemed to enjoy singing in rhythm with the whirr of the sewing machine. The faster Mother or Carrie pedaled the "Domestic," the merrier the bird would become and the quicker the tempo of his cheerful song.

That Father led a full life was, I think, apparent from Part I of this article, but Mother's day was equally busy, even in those rare periods when every member of our large family was well. Since the two older girls were taught at home until the summer of 1892, lessons for them began soon after breakfast. On July 17, 1892, with three children not yet of school age and another baby on the way, Mother was forced to acknowledge that she was too busy to be both mother and schoolteacher, and she wrote in her diary—somewhat regretfully, I think—"Decided to send girls to school." She had been keenly disappointed in having no musical education

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herself, so she saw to it that her children began taking piano lessons early, and there was practicing to supervise, too, in the mornings. We generally had a cook in later years, though not always, and when there were only two children in the family Mother often did the cooking herself for weeks or months at a time.

When all of the children were finally tucked away for the night, my parents usually had a few moments alone together, but then there were business letters to write. The letters were written in longhand, but a copy of each was kept in a large book. They would discuss the matter in question and decide on a reply in general terms. Then Mother would draft and write the letter, after which Father copied it into the notebook. Even when there were no letters to attend to, Father often found it necessary to return to the mine in the evening. It was then that he usually took some of the children with him. Being only three when we left the Western, I was never underground there, but all of the other children were many times.¹¹

It is surprising to discover—both in the Wilson report on the mine in 1879 and in family letters of that year—that there was a telephone at the Great Western at least that early, only three years after the telephone was invented, and perhaps even earlier. While it is true that these references to the mine telephone indicate that it was “out of order” or not functioning satisfactorily, that one existed at all in so remote a spot at that date is amazing. According to the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, there were only 2,600 telephones in the entire United States at the end of 1877, but the number increased rapidly in the next three years and by the end of 1880 there were 47,900. Since family memories and my mother’s diary make it clear that a second telephone was installed in the early 1890’s, that first one must have been used for only a short time and then abandoned. Telegraphic facilities, however, seem to have existed throughout the years from sometime in the 1870’s.

After the installation of the second telephone in the early 1890’s, our family—and the other mine residents through us—enjoyed a kind of early broadcasting system by telephone from Calistoga. Each morning a little after 11 o’clock when the San Francisco newspapers reached Calistoga by train, the telephone

operator there would ring one bell—the signal for every one on the line to listen in. Then, she would read the headlines from the newspaper. In writing of her reaction to the dissemination of news by this means, Florence indicates that it was not always an un-mixed blessing, at least where young children were concerned. Her experience was in connection with the celebrated and sensational Theodore Durrant murders in 1895—Durrant was the supposedly “model” young man who murdered two young women and left their bodies in a San Francisco church. Mine residents were particularly interested in that case, because Durrant was slightly known to them. In 1894, the National Guard company in which he was one of the leaders, came up over the Ida Clayton road, camped overnight at the Western, then took a horseback trip through Lake County. Florence writes in part:

The case was the constant subject of conversation for the more than two years that it dragged through the courts until Durrant was finally executed. I think I can date my horror of capital punishment to that case—so much talk about it, and the morning of the execution the telephone operator in Calistoga gave a “blow by blow” report of the hanging as it was taking place: “Now he is leaving his cell,” “Now he is going up the steps of the gallows,” etc. It was too much for an impressionable youngster, and I was physically ill for days afterwards.¹²

The social and community life of the mine centered around two buildings—the boarding house and the schoolhouse. In the 1870’s and early 1880’s, the rôle of the boarding house was the more important of the two, and small informal dances, parties, musical evenings and community Christmas celebrations were held there. By the time the memories of my older sisters begin, however, the school had become more important, partly because of the larger number of young people and thus of affairs involving children. And after 1894, when a fairly modern schoolhouse was built, the school took a definite lead and became the real social center of the camp.

Two items from early issues of the *Calistogian* describe a typical ball held in People’s Hall at the Great Western boarding house. The issue of July 24, 1878, announced that the “boys” at the mine—that is, the office employees, engineers, etc.—had posters out advertising a ball to be held on Friday evening, August 2nd, tickets,

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including supper, would sell for \$2.00, and the affair would "be given under the auspices of the Base Ball Club at the mine." The issue of August 7, 1878, carried another item describing the ball as "a very enjoyable affair, participated in by ladies and gentlemen from the surrounding country, far and near." There had been "an excellent supper and good music . . . furnished by the Glenn Brothers," and the article concluded by saying: "The number in attendance was remarkably large, considering the location of the Great Western. Several persons from Calistoga were there, and returned well pleased with their reception at the mine."

An early Christmas party at the Western is given considerable space in the *Calistogian* of December 26, 1877, under the heading "Christmas Eve at the Great Western Mine." As the following excerpts show, the event is described in detail, even to indulging in the quaint pastime of trying to put a money value on the gifts distributed to the guests!

. . . Punctually at 7 o'clock the door of the room containing the tree was thrown open and the children and their parents and friends came crowding in . . . Santa at once proceeded to distribute the gifts, the value of the entire lot amounting to not less than four hundred dollars. After the presents were all distributed the room was cleared of its wreck and left in possession of the children, the adults adjourning to the dining-room of the mine hotel, where dancing was commenced, and kept up until 12 o'clock. A splendid supper was then spread for all. One o'clock again found the lovers of Terpsichore in full possession of the dining-room, which position they stoutly held till daylight drove them out . . . It was a "huge" time, and will not easily be forgotten. The music, by the Glenn Bros., the supper, and, in fact, the entire expense of the occasion was paid by the attachees of the mine, and the hospitalities they bestowed upon their guests was the general theme of conversation the next morning.

There was always much visiting back and forth between the Roccas and whatever family happened to be managing "the house," as the boarding house was called. Father's friends, the Driscolls from Shasta County, remained at the Western until the summer of 1880, when they were succeeded by a Mrs. Lord of San Francisco, a widow who stayed two or three years and then later married Alfred Pryor.¹³ Mrs. Lord was succeeded by the oddest-sounding managers the boarding house ever had—"The house," Mother wrote

her family on February 11, 1883, "is kept now by three widows, sisters who do their own work." Sometime in the middle 1880's Mother's Aunt Climena Dickey and her husband were in charge of the boarding house for several years. During that period, of course, there was more than the usual association between the boarding house managers and our home.

When the Dickeys returned to San Francisco about 1890, one of the mine engineers—Jack Dewar—and his family became the managers, remaining until May 1, 1892, when they were succeeded by Dr. and Mrs. J. W. Connelly.¹⁴ The Connellys, who managed the boarding house for more than ten years and were still there when we left the Western, had almost as large a family as ours—they had five daughters and one son. Their eldest daughter, Lulu, was a schoolteacher, who sometimes substituted for the regular teacher at the mine, and had a private school of her own there for a year or so, a school Lillian attended.¹⁵ When Lulu married Ernest Chase, one of the mine engineers, in April, 1894, the wedding was held at the boarding house, and was probably the most elaborate invitational event taking place while my parents were at the mine. Remembering the earlier painful episode of the wedding that did not come off, Mother was delighted with this one and devoted several diary entries to the preparations. On April 16, 1894, the day following the wedding, she wrote: "A very pretty wedding yesterday. Forty present. Elegant dinner, many presents. Trip to City after."

There were, of course, many other mine families beside the boarding house keepers whom we saw often. Mrs. George Porter, wife of the man who was foreman for many years, wearing what Lillian describes as "a large plumed affair on her head," made "a call of state" every so often. Her husband, George, had had little formal schooling, but he read fairly widely and took an intelligent interest in what was going on in the world. "When he came to the house on pay nights," Lillian writes, "he would chat a while about what he had read recently. Some of his pronounciations were very odd—a camera, for instance, was a 'caméera'."

Another interesting character who came to see us often was Mrs. Thomas Habishaw — "a big hearty Irishwoman who had

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known plenty of trouble," as Florence writes. Habishaw had worked for Father at the Western, but they later lived at the Mirabel. In 1883 they lost six of their seven children in a diphtheria epidemic, later had a whole new family of six more children.¹⁶ In 1895 Habishaw was killed in a mine accident at the Mirabel. Mrs. Habishaw "chopped wood like a man, and went striding around the country alone at all hours of the night."¹⁷ She must have had a wonderful constitution, because, in spite of hard work, deep trouble, and bearing thirteen children, she died less than ten years ago at the age of 96!¹⁸

Our nearest neighbors at the mine were the Stoddards, and we saw all four of them often. Ed. Stoddard, the handsome father, was the man who, while driving a stage over Mount St. Helena in 1888, was held up by a firm but gentlemanly lone highwayman.¹⁹ The Stoddard girls (Lulu and Marie) were close companions of the children in our family, and those friendships have endured through the years. Then there was the Cavagnaro family, whose fortunes were closely associated with ours for many years, first at the Western, later at the Helen. Like Father, the Cavagnaros had come from the Genoa area of Italy, and when Mrs. Cavagnaro came to see us, she and Father would reminisce endlessly about "the old country." The Cavagnaro children (Eugenia, Andrew, Charles, Josephine and Attilio) were and have remained close friends of those of corresponding ages in our family. The Joseph Pluths were another family of foreign birth mentioned often in Mother's diary—Mrs. Pluth is generally referred to as "the Austrian bride," and Mother took great interest in the birth of the Pluth daughter in 1896.²⁰

This recital would be incomplete without some mention of three bachelors whom we saw regularly for years—Louis Repetto, Dave Risley and Will Andrews. Louis, who was Father's nephew and our cousin, lived at the boarding house and worked as an engineer at the mine but was with us so much that he was almost one of our family circle until his return to Italy in the late 1890's. When he first came to the mine in the 1880's, Louis was a very homesick young man, and Lillian remembers a pathetic little incident about him. In the early morning hours of his night-shift, he

was touchingly pleased when he heard roosters crowing—"Why," said Louis excitedly, "they crow just like *Italian* roosters!" Dave Risley, the storekeeper—Uncle Dave to us—Became so close to all the family that he later lived in our home at the Helen Mine as one of us until his death in 1910. Will Andrews (we called him uncle, too) worked at the hoist, but was general chore man at home, milked the cow, etc. He was fond of children and at his best with them, though he never had any of his own. "I can see him still," my sister Idalene writes of Uncle Will, "coming through the pasture with one youngster on his shoulders and two or three others clinging to him." And although the young Roccas sometimes gave him good reason not to be, he was a devoted and loyal friend of the whole family. After we were older, he often laughed merrily with us over the naughty things we had done to torment him—such as trying to make the cow kick while he was milking.

As mine superintendent Andrew Rocca was chief trustee, and his decision was the controlling one in all important school matters. After her marriage, Mary Rocca was always on the school board, too, serving as secretary, and her diary gives evidence of the large amount of time she spent on school affairs, particularly when it was necessary to engage a new teacher. And since the teachers seldom remained long in such an isolated post, she was frequently occupied with a search for a new teacher. As an illustration of the rapid turn-over, diary entries make it clear that at least six teachers taught at the Great Western in the years from 1891 to 1895.²¹

Only one of the teachers ever lived at our house, but they often came in for visits after school or to spend the evening. Two who remained longer than the others and became great family friends were Kate Biggerstaff and Lily Martin, both of Lakeport. Kate was there at a time in the 1880's when a rather rough group of nearly grown boys tried their best to make life unbearable for a teacher only a few years older than themselves. In the manner of the times, she sometimes resorted to the rod, and once on a warm day made the mistake of sending one of her tormentors out for a switch. Knowing that she was allergic to poison oak, the boy selected a branch from a poison oak shrub, peeled it carefully so that it would not be recognized, and handed it to his unsuspecting teacher. The

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results were probably more revengeful than even the boy himself had expected. So severely poisoned that she swelled into a hideous distortion of herself, poor Kate lay utterly helpless for nearly three weeks, unable even to feed herself, while her pupils enjoyed a holiday.²²

Lily Martin, who at one time or another taught all seven of the Rocca children and was a close friend to all of us during her long, active life, first came to the Western in the mid-eighties, left because of illness in her family, then came back again in January, 1895, to remain until 1900, with one year' leave of absence around 1897. When she returned in 1895, she found a new schoolhouse waiting for her, and when she came back in 1898, she lived in our home until we left the mine.

On April 24, 1894, Mother wrote in her diary that she, her husband, and a family friend had that day selected the site for the new schoolhouse—in a grove of small pines below our home. Our uncle, John Thompson, arrived the end of July and with the help of the mine carpenter built the school building. The schoolhouse was erected at company expense, and it was completed in time for the opening of the spring term in January, 1895. It was a fairly large, substantial structure of rustic siding with a brick foundation, and it had the usual schoolroom equipment, such as blackboards, roll-up maps, large globe, a dictionary on a metal stand, and an old-fashioned organ, bought two years earlier for the old schoolhouse. In front of the building there was a neat fenced-in area where a pleasant flower garden grew, kept in order by the combined efforts of the children, their teacher, and an occasional day of assistance from one of the Chinese workmen.

There were usually about thirty-five pupils in attendance, but the number varied considerably as families came and went. All grades from one through nine were represented, and the teacher necessarily led a very busy life—one reason, no doubt, why so few of them cared to remain longer than a term or two. The ninth grade was the first year of secondary school, so the teacher had to be capable of teaching some high school subjects, too. And after she had taught a long, full day, she usually had some evening obligations—coaching for a play or entertainment, preparing the exer-

cises for all the special days that were observed, or conducting some school for adults.

The life of the school generally flowed on smoothly, and then Mother would record in her diary with satisfaction that "School is flourishing." Occasionally, however, terror struck deep into the hearts of all the mothers when a mine child became ill with some dreaded contagious disease. In February, 1893, for example, two children became ill with scarlet fever, the school was closed immediately, and the other children were all given Belladonna.²³ Two days later one of the sick children died, and school did not reopen until March 13th.²⁴

As a former teacher herself, Mother usually found the teachers congenial companions, and took great interest in such things as the arrival of books for the school library, having the organ tuned, or whatever gardening was going on down in the pine grove. She often "went down after school to hear children rehearse," visited school regularly, and was frequently busy "sewing lining for school-room ceiling," or "making school house Stage Curtains."²⁵ And there are countless references to some or all of the family attending various school exercises—Washington's Birthday, May Day, Columbus Day, the program of the "Evergreen Literary Society," and those on the final day of school. As for the latter, an unusually festive occasion seems to have taken place on June 28, 1895, when a bell was presented to the trustees, and "Miss Martin had exercises cake and ice cream." The bell was reported "in position" on September 18, 1895, and received newspaper recognition sometime later, when the Middletown *Independent* of March 7, 1896, said that "The school bell at the Western Mine could be heard distinctly in town Thursday morning."

The evening and holiday programs at the schoolhouse were, of course, more numerous and varied than those presented as part of the school day. There were candy-pulls, stereoptican lectures, socials, plays, minstrel shows, evenings of music and recitations, many of which were for the purpose of raising money for some worthy cause. The children themselves were the performers for many of those events, and the young Roccas were often busy learning something to play on the organ or to recite from *The Peerless*

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Reciter. Feverish preparations preceded these performances, and after they were over Mother would weigh the results in a diary entry. On October 26, 1895, for example, she wrote: "Made our ice cream . . . Johnie working on seats very late. All went to entertainment. Very good. Big crowd. Receipts \$21.50. Children good. Ice cream soft."

The "benefit programs" were usually for some deserving person at the mine or in the neighborhood who was ill or in some financial difficulty that could be remedied by a modest sum of money. At no time did the mine community spirit show up to better advantage than on such occasions, as the benefit for Mrs. Fooshee illustrates. She was an elderly woman who lived alone on the Ida Clayton road and eked out a meager living by peddling vegetables on horseback at the mine. On May 28, 1893, Mother reported that "Mrs. Fooshee came yesterday, very ill." With her customary concern over any one in distress, Mother took Mrs. Fooshee in and nursed her until she was able to be up and around again. Then a benefit performance was put on for her at the mine. About \$40.00 was realized from the performance, and Father supplied the additional amount necessary to buy a ticket to Colorado, where Mrs. Fooshee had a daughter who could care for her.²⁶

One of the most elaborate entertainments ever undertaken was a minstrel show, staged by Miss Martin in the late 1890's, about which Florence writes in part:

It was an ambitious affair and we practiced for weeks. I played all the music on the organ for the songs and dances, and since each couple had a different routine, it was quite a task to keep it all straight . . . Our brother Andrew in a dress suit of black sateen Mama had made for him and Marie Stoddard as his partner, brought down the house. It was a cakewalk, and they were supposed to be performing for a prize cake (Mama made it, too). I thought it particularly nice that the generous crowd chose the most awkward couple of all for the prize!

The school building was also used for programs of a more serious nature—Sunday school, church (after its organization in 1895), meetings of the Salvation Army, and addresses by such people as a "lady missionary" and "West on astronomy." It was also used for at least two successful evening "schools" for both

adults and children—the first a spelling school in 1893, the second a singing school of two terms in 1894. The spelling school was a mine venture, with no assistance from outside talent, and it met once a week throughout the summer. It was enthusiastically supported by mine residents. Even my great-grandmother, Elizabeth Bartholomew, then nearly 84 and recovering from a serious illness, decided to brush up on her spelling and is mentioned as among those in attendance on several occasions! Sometimes, too, a group of eager spellers came all the way from Middletown, and the *Independent* would note the fact, give the names of those in the party, and report that they had “a very pleasant time.”²⁷

The singing school, organized by a “Professor” Winsett, who evidently conducted similar schools in nearby communities, met three or four evenings a week. And the mine group joined with the one in Middletown for a “Sing” in October, 1894.²⁸ The joint sessions of the Middletown-Great Western spelling and singing schools are illustrative of the cordial relationships existing between such groups at the mine and in town. When entertainments were held at the mine they were attended by many townspeople, while mine residents supported similar undertakings in Middletown. Frequent mine picnics were held in the grove beyond the sawmill and drew large crowds—139 on at least one occasion.²⁹

In the earlier years church services were held from time to time by itinerant preachers of various denominations. In the spring of 1895, following a series of revival meetings, conducted by a Reverend Griggs and his wife, the “Cinabria Baptist Church” was organized at the mine.³⁰ Griggs “must have been very eloquent and persuasive,” Florence writes, “for he converted most of the mine people who weren’t Catholics, including our mother.” On April 30th the new converts (Mother, Lillian, and Beatrice were in the group) were baptized in a pool above the boarding house, and Florence writes of her memory of “how frightened we younger children were when Mr. Griggs dipped Mama beneath the water. Most of the women had made black robes for the occasion, and it was a very solemn one indeed.”

Almost from the moment the family moved into “the big house” in 1881 until our departure some nineteen years later, there

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was a steady stream of guests in our home. Western hospitality was accepted as a matter of course in the era ushered in by the gold rush—especially in the rural sections, where the absence of public eating places often demanded that any chance visitor, or even passerby, be invited into one's home and refreshed with a good meal before he settled down to the business at hand or proceeded on his way. Yet even when compared with California's high standard in that regard in the last half of the nineteenth century, I believe my parents would have been regarded as unusually hospitable. As Florence writes, "People used to come to our home and stay for weeks or months at a time. There was never a period, I think, when some one outside the family was not there." The story of *The Man Who Came to Dinner*, broke his leg and then remained a year, may seem slightly exaggerated to some, but its plausibility would never have been questioned in our family circle. We can, in fact, give an earlier, authentic version of the story in which one of our guests not only remained for about a year but she brought her pet Pekinese with her, and when we moved to the Helen Mine during the year, she accompanied us to our new home. It might be added that the lady did not break her leg, but the important point is not that she remained so long but that she was so welcome all of the time.

Among family guests there was first of all Father's brother, Joseph Rocca, who was with us almost half of the time. He appears frequently in Mother's letters or her diary—arriving from San Francisco with gifts for the family, taking the children driving or walking, helping out while Father was in Mexico in 1889 on a mine inspection tour, etc. On Mother's side of the family, our grandmother, Amanda Thompson, was a timid little woman who was so terrified by the road over Mount St. Helena that she never really enjoyed her rare visits to the Great Western, but her sister, Mary Center, and her husband were my parents' first guests in their new home and they came several times later. Our uncle, John Thompson, a gentle, even-tempered man, came often, as I have already indicated, not only to visit but to do carpentry or substitute for Dave Risley at the store. The member of that family who came most often was Mother's grandmother Bartholomew, a remarkable woman, who lived into her 90's and remained active and alert almost

to the end. Always arriving when a baby was expected, Grandma spent long periods in her granddaughter's home, but she worked so hard then that she could hardly be called a guest. Of her Lillian writes:

I can picture her still in the days when the younger children were babies, a tiny figure wearing a black lace cap, crooning by the stove or fireplace to the baby in her arms. Her favorite song was typical of the older days—something about a girl who had been jilted and committed suicide. One never-to-be-forgotten line in her quavering old voice was: "And a cup of cold 'pizen' lay close by her side."

Two intelligent and cultured young women, Marie and Genevieve Wright, daughters of a salty old English skipper (he and his brother owned the mine to which we moved in 1900), came for long visits in the 1880's, and Beatrice and Florence received their middle names from them. When their restless father went off on some voyage, leaving them quite alone at the American Mine, the Wright girls would come to our home to await his return.

Among mining men the most frequent visitors were the company officials, who came on regular inspection trips and to confer with the superintendent. When Andrew Rocca became superintendent, a man named E. Green was president of the company, H. M. Newhall was the treasurer, and Abraham Halsey was the secretary. Halsey continued in that post during the entire period of Father's superintendency, but Green retired around 1880 and was succeeded by Gilbert Palache, who was president for some twenty years. Palache, a widower with three grown children, was a small, trim, grey-bearded man of French origin, who, however, pronounced his name not in the French manner but as if it were spelled "Palatch'-ie." He had suffered a serious injury to his feet in a sawmill accident years before, an accident which left him permanently lame and always in some pain. One of the upstairs rooms in the superintendent's home was reserved for him and other visiting mine officers, and we always called it "the Palache room." A manzanita cane, which Father had made for his friend to use on his mine visits, stood in a corner of the room.

In spite of his physical infirmity, Palache was unfailingly kind, gentle, and courteous. Whenever he came to the mine he

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brought boxes of what were to us great delicacies—fresh pineapples, bananas, oranges, oysters, etc.—not only, as Florence points out, because he had a true Frenchman's love of fine cooking, but so that we could share these good things with him. And although he smoked a fine cigar and considered himself as much a connoisseur of tobacco as of good food, in deference to the known dislike of cigar smoke in the Rocca household, he never smoked indoors. When the weather was fair, he would pace up and down the wide front porch after the evening meal, enjoyed a solitary smoke in the soft, clear mountain air. We children were taught to be as inconspicuous as possible during his visits, but he always had a pleasant word for us and brought us unusual gifts.³¹

Halsey was a portly, good-natured man with a Vandyke beard and a hearty laugh. He was less reserved than Palache and thus more approachable from a child's standpoint. Halsey had recommended Father for the superintendency in 1876, and he was probably my father's closest friend throughout the forty-five years of their association. Having no children of his own and being a generous man, Mr. Halsey lavished considerable affection on the Rocca children, especially Florence, his favorite, with whom he carried on a correspondence until his death in the early 1900's.

Palache and Halsey generally came to the mine together, but sometimes one or the other came alone or with a member of his family. Mrs. Halsey was a strikingly handsome, elegantly dressed woman, who, like my mother, was years younger than her husband. The Halseys lived in a fine home on Pacific Avenue in San Francisco, and Mrs. Halsey was socially prominent. Of her visits to the mine Lillian writes:

She was something of a spoiled darling. Breakfast in bed, and that sort of thing, was unheard of to us, but it was accepted that her tray should go up at about eleven—the middle of our day!³²

The arrival and departure of "Messrs. Palache and Halsey" were faithfully noted in Mother's diary (in the *Calistogian*, too), and she frequently wrote home that she was busy getting ready to receive the directors, or that she could not leave the mine because they were expected. Great preparations were made for these visits, and once on the day before they were due to arrive, Mother wrote

that two turkeys had been killed for the occasion.³³ Another preparation regularly made and participated in by some of the children was walking over to No. 2 to get a jug full of the cool spring water that Mr. Palache especially prized.

The directors often brought other mining men with them, and in the late 1890's Edward Newhall, who became president after Palache's retirement, began accompanying them regularly. Newhall's first visit in our home produced something of a domestic crisis—the man tipped the scales at around 300 pounds, and we had no chair that would support his great weight. Before his next visit Father saw to it that a special chair was made, a sturdy, enormous chair that remained in the family many years.

Not only those associated with the Great Western company but scores of other mining men came to our house from time to time, generally bringing their wives and sometimes their children with them. Those who came most often were from the mines in the immediate vicinity—the Bradford, or Mirabel Mine, the Napa Consolidated, or Oat Hill Mine, the Sulphur Bank, the Palisade, etc.—but others came from mines as distant as the New Idria, the Guadalupe, or the New Almaden. Mother's diary abounds in items to the effect that: "Mr. J. B. Randol of Almaden here with friend & Ed. & F. Bradford;" "Mr. & Mrs. White from Sulphur Bank spent the day here;" "Mr. & Mrs. Grigsby from Palisade Mine here to dinner & spent aft.;" "Mr. & Mrs. Newcomb, family, Guy & Nettie Bools came [from the Oat Hill]." Men connected with various governmental agencies, such as the United States Geological Survey, came, too ("Prof. A. E. Foote, a U. S. Mineralogist, here inspecting ore. A cultivated and agreeable gentleman," Mother wrote in her diary in late March, 1891), as well as people like Professor Christie, long head of the Mining Department at the University of California and an old friend of Father's.

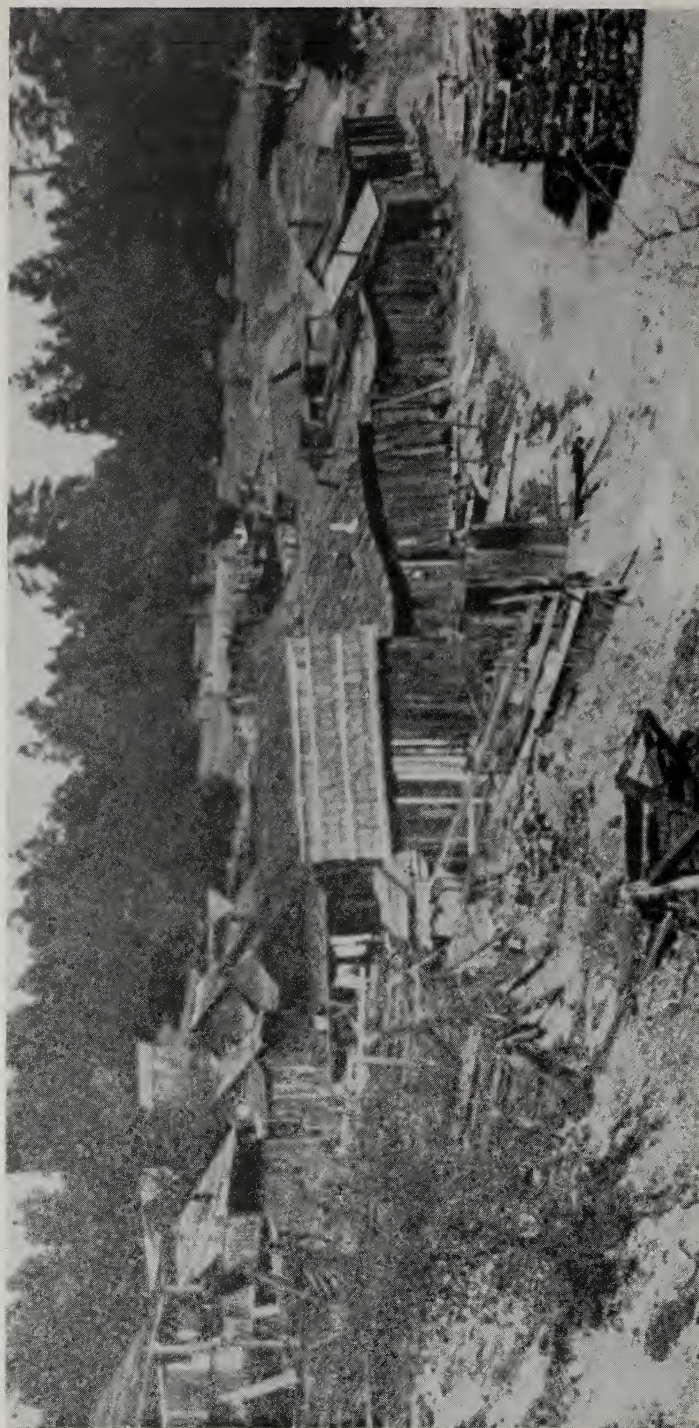
Dozens of other people came on this or that matter of business, had dinner or supper with us, and found their way into Mother's diary. There were hotel-keepers, insurance agents, assessors, office-seekers, revivalists, missionaries, music teachers, etc. One of the music teachers, a "professor" Ebermayer, described as "an elderly German with good recommendations," often walked the sixteen



—From the Author's Collection

GREAT WESTERN MINE IN THE 1890s

Boarding house, upper left; furnace and hoisting works, center left; horse barn in foreground, and company store at extreme right.



CHINESE CAMP

*Scene in one of the "China Camps" at the Great Western Mine.
Photograph made in the late 1890s.*

— From the Author's Collection

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miles from Calistoga to the mine to give his lessons and thus was probably as deserving of a good meal as any guests the family ever had!³⁴ Another music teacher, "Professor" Cosgrove, finally moved to the mine in the mid-nineties and remained a couple of years.³⁵ Of him and the arrangements made to keep him at the mine Florence writes in part:

Cosgrove was a former band leader on a British warship and a fine musician, although at the time we knew him he was so old his hands were too stiff to play the piano any longer. He played many instruments, but the flute was his favorite, and we had to play duets with him. He was accustomed to dealing with men in a military atmosphere, very harsh and unreasonable at times, and consequently frightened some of the girls half out of their wits . . . He was given reduced rates at the boarding house, and a number of the families arranged to have their children take daily lessons—also at reduced rates. This meant they had to be excused from school for their lessons and was a cause of open warfare between Cosgrove and Miss Martin. He referred to her somewhat contemptuously as "the school house," and she retorted in kind by calling him "the piano stool." After about two years at the Western, he left to accept a better position in Sacramento.

In the spring of 1883, Dr. Frank Mitchell and his wife, Addie, originally from New Hampshire, came to the Great Western, remained there a short time, then moved to Middletown, where the doctor practiced until about 1890. After that he practiced for another decade in Calistoga. A deep and lasting friendship developed between them and our family, and from the middle 1880's to the end of her life my mother had no closer friend than "Mrs. M.," as she always called Addie Mitchell in her diary. Father and Dr. Mitchell were close friends, too, and also were associated in business for a time, owning the Middletown drug store in partnership.³⁶

Auntie Mitchell, as she was known to all of us children, was high-spirited and quick-tempered, but warm-hearted and a steadfast friend. The doctor had an ideal temperament for a physician—he was calm, kind, and sympathetic. They came often to see us for many years, and Mother's diary probably has more entries about them than any one outside the family.³⁷ Whenever they came, Father and Auntie Mitchell would play cribbage by the hour, each taking great satisfaction in winning over the other. But, as Florence points out, Mrs. Mitchell thought the odds were always against

her—"What chance do I have," she used to complain, "with all the little Roccas standing around chanting, 'I hope Papa beats!'"³⁸

During his years at the Western, Father was always interested in modern improvements or ideas which would make life safer or more agreeable for mine residents. The health insurance program which he and Dr. Mitchell worked out for the mine families in the 1890's is an interesting example of an advanced idea which was put into practice and functioned satisfactorily. The idea originated because, after Dr. Mitchell moved to Calistoga, a doctor was not always available in Middletown, and because most of the families were too poor anyway to afford adequate medical care. For a small, voluntary, monthly contribution from each family, Dr. Mitchell took care of them. He came to the mine at regular intervals, called on all the families in the group, gave them advice and furnished any necessary medicines. Because of his previous connection with the Middletown drug store, Father was able to get the drugs at wholesale prices, and the doctor made up the prescriptions himself. When emergencies arose, Dr. Mitchell also made special trips to the mine, in addition to his regular calls.³⁹

Other friends who came from Calistoga—sometimes with the Mitchells—were Agnes and William Fisher and their children, Alice and Howard. Mr. Fisher owned the Calistoga livery stable and stage line for a number of years, then interested himself in developing the Calistoga water works. Mrs. Fisher had a fine singing voice, and of her memories of their visits Lillian writes:

There was always music when the Fishers came. Whenever we have an old-time radio program, the "parlor" at the Western comes to life for me with Mrs. Fisher singing *Oh, Promise Me, The Last Rose of Summer*, etc. Dad used to sing, too, and *A Spanish Cavalier* was a great favorite of his. Cards were played when the Fishers came, too,—generally old-fashioned whist with them, as it was always cribbage with Auntie Mitchell.

Mother, Mrs. Mitchell, and Mrs. Fisher had a fourth friend to whom they were all devoted—Mrs. Newcomb, who, though she was supposed to be the frailest of the four, outlived them all. Mr. Newcomb was superintendent of the Oat Hill Mine for a number of years, and the family (they had two sons) came to visit us at frequent intervals. Sometimes, too, all or part of our large family

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went off for the day to visit the Mitchells or Fishers in Calistoga, the Newcombs at the Oat Hill. Such expeditions must have been almost more of an ordeal than a pleasure for Mother, but diary entries show that they were sometimes taken fairly close together, especially before the family became so large.⁴⁰ Since Father was rather a helpless man about getting himself ready for such an occasion, let alone helping with the children, Mother would have to assemble all of his clothing and help him dress, then dress the children and try to keep them in order. And as she hurriedly dressed herself, Father would inquire periodically: "When will you be ready, May? I'm ready, I don't see why it takes you so long."

Dan and Mary Lawley Patten (Mollie Patten to her friends) from the Toll House on Mount St. Helena were other visitors. Mollie, the hostess of Mount St. Helena Inn, came to be well known to thousands of stage passengers over the mountain for her plain-speaking, her witty if somewhat earthy sallies, her shrewdness in money matters, and her genuine good heartedness.⁴¹ In earlier years, Lillian remembers her arriving for a visit, wearing a huge bustle, and that she was gay, good company. Once when the Pattens were there and a heavy storm prevented them from returning home the next day, "Mrs. P. played duets with children and sang" most of the day.⁴²

There were those, too, who came originally for business reasons but became warm family friends—such as our jolly butcher from Middletown, Pliny Reed, and William Spiers of Calistoga—"Billy Spiers," as the *Calistogian* affectionately called that dashing gentleman who in looks so strongly resembled the sheriff in an old-time Western. He was a great lover of fine horses as a young man, later was an equally enthusiastic owner of early automobiles, and gave me my first ride in one over Mount St. Helena in the summer of 1908. It was Bill Spiers who drove Stevenson up to the Toll House on several occasions in 1880,⁴³ and when Senator and Mrs. Leland Stanford came to Calistoga by special train to visit their property—the Hot Springs and grounds—the party was "driven by Billy Spiers, in one of his best turn-outs, to the palatial residence of A. L. Tubbs, two miles north of town."⁴⁴ In the long years of their ownership of the stage line, Mr. and Mrs. Spiers came to be

even better known to travelers than Mollie Patten, because they personally took charge of loading the stages for the Lake County resorts, speaking a few words to each of the many tourists who used their line. While Mrs. Spiers sold or took up tickets, her husband would stand beside the loading platform in front of the Calistoga hotel, greeting every one indiscriminately with his favorite response, "Finest kind," even before the other person had had an opportunity to ask him how he was!

Sometimes several different groups of guests arrived on the same day, many of them "unexpectedly," as Mother used to say in her diary. But no matter how many guests there were, she was always the gracious, composed hostess who, whatever her private worries might be about whether the food could possibly be stretched to serve the influx of guests, never gave any outward sign of concern. On such occasions, Father, who adored company, would blossom into the genial, expansive host, urging every one to spend a week, a month, or the whole summer with us. Once, however, he had a rather disconcerting experience when he had several of his closest Calistoga friends as dinner guests. He was proud of his ability to make a tossed green salad and always insisted on taking care of that part of the meal himself at the table. In addition to lettuce, and the seasonings, which were brought to him in an old-fashioned silver caster, he cut up several hard-boiled eggs in the bottom of the big mixing-bowl. Making a salad was a kind of rite with him, and on this occasion he mixed everything carefully, tossed it all with great ceremony, then tasted it. He looked puzzled, tossed it again and took another taste. Then he rang for the woman who was cooking for us at the time and asked: "Are you sure you put the right oil in the cruet in this caster?" To which she replied: "Oh, yes, Mr. Rocca, I'm *very* sure, because it plainly says 'castor oil' on the bottle."

As the daughter of one of the guests that day writes me: "I think your father's friends went without their salad course at that particular party!"⁴⁵ This all happened before I was born, but I can well appreciate how crest-fallen Father must have been to have his own part of the dinner ruined. I know from experience, though, that it did not dampen his ardor for mixing a green salad.

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NOTES

For a general statement of sources for this article, see Part I, in the *Quarterly* for June, 1957, Notes, p. 186.

1. Actually, there was no assistant superintendent, but she probably refers to Alfred Pryor, the chief clerk and time-keeper.
2. Unfortunately, the letter Mary wrote to her mother and brother is missing from the family collection, but their reply has been preserved. The final paragraph of the letter, dated August 11, 1879, and written by John Thompson, reads as follows: "In this most important step of your life which you contemplate we trust to your judgment that you have satisfied yourself of your love for a worthy man before your engagement and resting content in our confidence in you we have only to grant your honoring request and say God bless you and God speed, and that your hopes and wishes may find their highest fulfillment is the heartfelt and hopeful prayer of your loving—Mother and Brother."
3. F. G. McFarling, Florence thinks that the Roccas saw the Stevensons several times, not only at Silverado but on at least one occasion at the Great Western. That the Stevensons came to the mine seems doubtful to me, however, because they obviously had no transportation while at Silverado and seem to have left the place only a few times when they went to Calistoga.
4. On January 3, 1881, Mother wrote her family of a hurried business trip her husband had made to San Francisco. "[He] was away until Saturday afternoon," she wrote, "and I was very lonesome as it was the first time he had ever left me. He went on business and came home as soon as possible, not even having time to call on our folks . . ." On January 24, 1881, four days before the baby was born, she wrote that her grandmother, Elizabeth Bartholomew, had arrived two days earlier "in good health and spirits" and that "Mr. Rocca met her in Calistoga and they got up here about 3:30 P.M."
5. Mary T. Rocca to Amanda and John Thompson, July 21, Aug. 25, 1881.
6. F. G. McFarling, M. T. R., *Diary*, Sept. 16, 1895.
7. The extent of canning in our family is evident from many diary entries and letters to the Thompsons. On September 7, 1884, for example, Mother wrote: "I have been putting up fruit. Have put up 170 lbs. Peaches, 100 lbs. Plums, 40 lbs. Blackberries, mostly into Jelly & preserves, and have just commenced putting up Tomatoes."
8. On February 27, 1882, Mother wrote her brother: "We are clearing our yard now, and will soon have the ground in order for planting . . . Wish you were here, Johnnie, to help me garden, for I am soon to have an assortment of flowers, roots, seed, etc. from Vick and it will be some work to set them all out."
9. Space was left, too, at one side for several diamond—or triangular-shaped beds where each child had his own little private plot where he was encouraged to grow whatever he pleased.
10. Sewing was undertaken on as large a scale as fruit canning, as these representative diary entries indicate: "Cut out 19 pr. pillow slips;" "Finished seven little dresses for Andrew;" "Commenced half a dozen dresses for Floss."
11. In a little memorandum book kept by my father, this item appears under the date of April 7, 1896: "My dear boy Andrew went in the mine with me for the first time to-night. Idalene, who was just past seven when we left the Great Western, writes of going underground with her father a number of times there. Florence, too, says: 'I remember my first trip underground—seeing a large stope many feet across, the walls a solid red glittering with crystallized cinnabar in the candlelight.' I believe I was about six years old when I was taken in the mine at the Helen for the first time."
12. On April 18, 1895, Mother wrote in her diary: "Papers this week full of murder of Blanche Lamont and Minnie Williams in Emmanuel B[aptist] C[hurch], S. F." The Durrant case was indeed a sensational one, played up in the press for all it was worth for several years. Much has also been written about the case since that time, among the more interesting pieces being "The Demon in the Belfry."—The Case of Theodore Durrant—1895, The Facts by Hildegard Teilheit, The Legends by Anthony Boucher, in *San Francisco Murders*. According to newspaper stories at the time of his death, the late Joseph Henry Jackson also left an incomplete manuscript on the subject—"The Girl in the Belfry."
13. Mary T. Rocca to Amanda and John Thompson, June 30, 1880, Feb. 11, 1883.
14. M. T. R., *Diary*, May 1, 1892.
15. *Ibid.*, Dec. 10, 1892, Jan. 2, 1893.
16. F. G. McFarling: *Calistogian*, July 25, 1883; *Middletown Independent*, July 6, 1895.

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17. F. G. McFarling. Lillian, too, writes that Mrs. Habishaw often left our home as late as 11:00 P.M. to walk the several miles to her own home.
18. I. B. McCollum.
19. This incident is described in detail on pp. 226-228 of my article, "Highwaymen in the Quicksilver Mining Region," in the *Quarterly* for September, 1955.
20. Florence writes that "Mother was present when all of the mine babies were born," and many diary entries bear this out—such as the one for March 31, 1895, which reads: "Baby Chase came at 6 this A.M. A big strong girl, weighs 10 lbs. Staid there today." And whenever there was a death at the mine, Mother always made a floral piece for the funeral. She also spent much time helping out in any mine home where there was illness. In February, 1896, for example, when a Mrs. Johnson and her daughter had pneumonia at the same time, the diary entries from the 14th to the 22nd show that Mother was there nearly half of the time, sitting up with the patients a couple of nights.
21. One of those teachers was Letitia Lea, sister of Clarence F. Lea, an outstanding member of the Congress of the United States from the First District of California for the years from 1916 to 1948, now retired and living in Santa Rosa. Miss Lea later served as her brother's secretary in Washington, I believe.
22. L. L. Stewart. Kate's sister, Norene, also a teacher, was a close family friend, as was their father, the Lakeport postmaster for some years.
23. M. T. R., *Diary*, Feb. 7, 8, 1893.
24. *Ibid.*, Feb. 10, Mar. 13, 1893.
25. *Ibid.*, Aug. 5, 1892; Feb. 3, Dec. 11, 1893.
26. F. G. McFarling, who remembers how deeply touched Mrs. Fooshee was.
27. *Middletown Independent*, June 10, 1893.
28. M. T. R., *Diary*, Oct. 14, 1894.
29. *Ibid.*, May 5, 6, 7, 1893.
30. *Ibid.*, May 2, 1895.
31. Such as beautifully illustrated books which he himself selected—Idalene still treasures one of them—and lovely dolls with clothing that was made by hand by his two daughters.
32. Mother and Nellie Halsey were utterly unlike in most ways, yet an affectionate understanding seems to have existed between them. When Mrs. Halsey died suddenly in 1894 while on a European tour, the diary entries for November 12, 13, 1894, indicate that Mother grieved over her passing.
33. M. T. R., *Diary*, May 27, 1892.
34. *Ibid.*, Feb. 25, 27, Mar. 3, 31, 1891; Apr. 23, 1892.
35. *Ibid.*, Oct. 27, 1895; July 11, 1896.
36. The *Calistogian* of November 13, 1889, quotes an item from the *Middletown Independent* of November 9th, to the effect that A. Rocca and Frank Mitchell had sold the drug store to J. C. Voluntine.
37. The *Calistogian*, too, has many items like one on December 28, 1895, about the Mitchells eating their "Christmas turkey with the family of Superintendent Rocca at the Great Western." The Mitchells went to California originally for Dr. Mitchell's health—he had a lung ailment, which, happily, cleared up in Lake County's beneficial climate. On March 18, 1883, Mother wrote her family that Dr. Mitchell had "about \$75 per month subscribed on the mine, and I think will get a good outside practice." She hoped so, she said, since "it is much safer to have a Dr. on the mine, than to have to send away a distance for one. Besides they are very nice people and we are glad to have them here."
38. Dr. Mitchell was the attending physician not only when six of the seven Rocca children were born, but served in the same capacity for two of Bernard's children many years later when the doctor was practicing in Bakersfield. I was given Mitchell as a middle name for them, and Bernard's second son has the same middle name.
39. F. G. McFarling.
40. M. T. R., *Diary*, May 30, June 13, 1891.
41. See Note No. 7, Part I, of this article.
42. M. T. R., *Diary*, May 5, 1892.
43. Anne Roller Issler, *Our Mountain Hermitage*, p. 33.
44. *Calistogian*, Sept. 7, 1887.
45. Letter of Sept. 7, 1949, from Evelyn Armstrong McNeill, whose father, C. W. Armstrong, owner of the Calistoga drug store for many years, was one of the guests.

The Carrillos of San Diego . . .

A Historic Spanish Family of California

By Brian McGinty


(Continued from the June Quarterly)

HE SPANISH AND MEXICAN PERIODS in California history lasted less than a total of eight years. From the landing of Junipero Serra at San Diego in 1769 to the raising of the Stars and Stripes over the customs house of Monterey in 1846, less than three generations of Spanish Californians passed through the annals of provincial history. Though the period was short and its people were relatively few, Spanish and Mexican California, as unique historical epochs, have earned for themselves solid places in the annals of American pioneering.

The advent of United States rule in California, beginning in 1846, brought with it a sudden end to the languid Spanish-Californian way of life. For those who were caught in the squeeze of the sudden change of government, adjustment was oftentimes difficult. At once, the past was gone,—and the future was strange and uncertain. Those Spanish Californians whose lives were yet to be lived found the difficulty to be doubled. A part of them had died with the traditions of their ancestors; but another greater and more important part yet remained vibrant and breathing—awaiting fulfillment under the strange, new rule of the United States.

PART IX

Joaquin Carrillo

JOAQUIN CARRILLO, ELDEST SON OF JOAQUIN VICTOR and María Ignacia Lopez de Carrillo, was born in San Diego in 1820. Sixteen years old when his father died in about 1836, Joaquin was eighteen when his mother and younger brothers and sisters took up their residence on Rancho *Cabeza de Santa Rosa*.

During the late 1830's, the Russian settlement of Fort Ross, twenty miles to the west of Santa Rosa, was at the height of its California activity. Spaniards were encouraged to take up lands on the northern frontier of the province to strengthen Mexican territorial claims and to discourage further encroachment on the part of the Russians. The removal of the Carrillo family to California's north country was part of the over-all plan of the Mexican government to settle this area.

Soon after their arrival, the Carrillos began building a large and comfortable adobe house in the central part of the Santa Rosa Valley. Joaquin, as eldest son and nominal head of the family, shouldered primary responsibility for the adobe's construction. Salvador Vallejo, soon to become Joaquin's brother-in-law, assisted with the design and gave experienced supervision, while the Carrillo sons, together with Indians recruited from the surrounding countryside, performed the actual labor. The adobe house that rose on the wooded banks of the Santa Rosa Creek was a solid, handsome structure,—a worthy center of the great rancho activities that were to take place at Cabeza de Santa Rosa in the 1840's. The walls of this house, at one time the most northerly adobe dwelling in all California, still stand one mile east of the City of Santa Rosa.

Joaquin Carrillo, like other Californian youths, lived the free and open life of a picturesque *vaquero*. High-spirited horses, roaming by the hundreds over the grassy field and wooded hillsides surrounding the Carrillo ranch house, were his constant companions; throwing mammoth steers and stalking savage grizzly bears were his sports and relaxations. Indians abounded in the Santa Rosa Valley at that time, and hundreds of them found employment on the Carrillo rancho. For sons of the *gente de razon* there were to be no menial tasks. Let these be done by *los indios*!

The whole north-bay region was at that time under the military control of Joaquin's brother-in-law, General Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo. Nearly all youths in that area were subject to duty in the Presidial Company of San Francisco, centered in the pueblo of Sonoma. Joaquin served in Sonoma in the early 1840's, along with his brothers, Julion, José Ramon, Juan and Dolores.

On April 25, 1842, Joaquin was married in the chapel of Mis-

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sion San Francisco Solano de Sonoma.¹ His bride was Señorita Guadalupe Caseres, daughter of the prominent Spanish pioneer, Francisco Caseres, who had emigrated from Spain in 1816 and arrived in Alta California in 1817. Among the children born of this marriage were: Enrique Guadalupe, Isabela, Frederico, María, Francisco, Amelia, Luisa, Catalina, Josefa, and Alberto Ronaldo Carrillo.²

On March 29, 1844, Governor Manuel Micheltorena granted Joaquin Carrillo three square leagues of Rancho *Llano de Santa Rosa*.³ This property, consisting of 13, 317 acres, lay west of his mother's rancho Cabeza de Santa Rosa. It had previously been granted to Marcus West, whose title to the property had been allowed to lapse prior to Joaquin's grant.

Selecting a site on his sprawling rancho near a large pond known as the Laguna, Joaquin Carrillo built his home.⁴ At first he erected a small adobe; later, when he had become more firmly established, he built a large and comfortable adobe house in which his wife, Guadalupe Caseres de Carrillo, and his children made their home for many years. This house faced east on a part of the old Spanish trail, a road that was later used by the first stage-coach lines to penetrate Sonoma County.

The Bear Flag Revolt burst suddenly upon the residents of the region north of San Francisco Bay in June of 1846. Isolated American immigrants had been filtering into California for over twenty years; but they had been treated cordially, in many cases given rich grants of government land, and had, for the most part, conducted themselves in a friendly and peaceful manner. Now, under the ambitious prodding of the newly-arrived Captain John C. Fremont, they were "rebellious" against their accommodating hosts. Joaquin Carrillo was in Sonoma at the time of the raising of the Bear Flag, and, as one of the district's most prominent citizens, he was taken prisoner by "*los Osos*" along with his brothers-in-law, Mariano and Salvador Vallejo, and several other prominent Sonoma residents. They were taken to Sutter's Fort, there to languish for nearly a month and a half awaiting their eventual release by order of Commodore Stockton.

When the hectic events of 1846 came to an end and California

emerged through the smoke of controversy and the blood of battle as part of the United States, Joaquin Carrillo was one of the few Spanish Californians who adapted with relative ease to the new order of things. In mid-1846, he assumed the important office of *Alcalde* (Mayor) of Sonoma. At that time, the pueblo of Sonoma was the only legally constituted settlement north of San Francisco Bay. In the size of its population and in its administrative authority, it far outshone its southern rival, Yerba Buena, a sleepy pueblo that sometime later was to be known as the City of San Francisco.

In the early 1850's American settlers began squatting on the Carrillo lands in and around the Santa Rosa Valley, and Rancho Llano de Santa Rosa steadily decreased in size. In the 1850's, at a time when talk of the Crimean War was on the lips of people throughout the world, a group of American pioneers founded a town on part of Joaquin Carrillo's rancho,—naming their settlement for another more famous city in the Crimea, Sebastopol.

In the early days of Llano de Santa Rosa, there had been a great number of Indians on the property. For many years, flint arrowheads and stone mortars and pestles were uncovered, attesting to the presence there of a large native settlement before the advent of the Spanish.⁵ When ranching and farming activities were begun by Joaquin Carrillo, numerous Indians were employed as laborers. But thousands of them died in white man's plagues during the 1840's, and after the American conquest only a few remained. Now, proud *caballeros* were forced to descend from their prancing horses and guide plows through the rolling fields that lay along the banks of Laguna Creek. Though they grumbled as they went about such menial tasks, Joaquin Carrillo and his sons did not refuse. They knew that this was the price of survival in the new American life.

Joaquin and Guadalupe Carrillo operated a hotel in the town of Sebastopol for several years, and through wise management of their properties, managed to avoid the poverty that had plagued other members of their family. Probably in the 1870's, Joaquin turned over most of his remaining property at Llano de Santa Rosa to his wife, and when she died, in 1874, her estate was valued in

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excess of \$48,000, then a large sum. Twelve-hundred remaining acres of the old Carillo rancho, alone, were appraised at \$36,000.⁶

In about 1876, Joaquin married for the second time. His wife was Mary Springer, a resident of the sea-coast town of Bodega. Joaquin and Mary Carrillo continued for a time to live in Sebastopol, and their last years were spent in relative quiet.⁷

* * * *

PART X

Jose Ramon Carrillo



HE SECOND SON OF JOAQUIN AND MARIA Ignacia Carrillo was José Ramon, born at San Diego in 1823.⁸ Coming north to the San Francisco Bay region in about 1837, José Ramon settled with his mother and several of his brothers and sisters on Rancho Cabeza de Santa Rosa, north of Sonoma.

In the traditional manner of the Spanish Californian, this member of the Carrillo family was skilled in horsemanship, the handling of the *reata*, and particularly in the popular California sport of bear fighting. William Heath Davis, in his *Seventy-Five Years in California*, writes of an incident in which the remarkable courage and skill with which José Ramon stalked and killed these huge animals is shown:

He had a large sharp knife, and taking [a] *mochila* from his saddle he held it in his left hand as a shield, and thus accoutered approached the bear, which immediately showed fight. The combat began. Carrillo, as the bear charged upon him and attempted to seize him, held up his shield to repel the assault, and with his knife in the other hand made skillful thrusts at the animal, with telling effect. Before long, the creature lay dead before him.⁹

On another occasion, José Ramon's mastery of the bear was shown, not by his brawn, but by his quick and clear thinking:

He was riding alone through the woods, when, seeing a bear a little distance away, he went after him on his horse, prepared to throw his *reata* and lasso him. That part of the country was overgrown with *chamiza*, so that the ground was a good deal hidden. The chase had hardly commenced when the bear plunged suddenly into a ditch, perhaps five or six feet deep. Before Carrillo could check his horse, the animal

and himself plunged headlong into it also. He immediately disentangled himself from his horse, and, while doing so, the bear showed signs of retreating . . .

Don Jose Ramon instantly took in the situation; and saw that in such close quarters with the animal, with no room to move about to use his reata or otherwise defend himself, his situation would be a dangerous one should the courage of the bear revive; and that his safety was in allowing him to get away. The bear commenced to climb up the steep sides of the pit, where it was very difficult to get any kind of a hold, and Carrillo, with wonderful presence of mind, placed his strong arm under the brute's hind quarters and, exerting all his strength, gave him a good lift. The bear having the good sense to rightly appreciate this friendly assistance, struggled forward, got out, and scampered away, leaving the horse and his master to climb out as best they could.¹⁰

In the late 1830's and early 1840's, the residents of California exhibited an uneasy feeling about the increasing threat of foreign domination in their country. For many years, England, France, and Russia, among European nations, had shown a keen interest in California's fine harbors and fertile ranch land. And with each passing year, the "manifest destiny" of the United States was becoming more and more a reality to the *Californios*. In October, 1842—three years before the beginning of the Mexican War—Commodore Thomas A. C. Jones of the U. S. Navy appeared in Monterey and, raising the Stars and Stripes over the old customs house, demanded California's prompt surrender to the United States. It was all a mistake, as he later explained; and he apologized profusely. But still the Californians had an uncomfortable feeling about their position in international affairs. And as, each year, hundreds of immigrants from the United States crossed the Sierra Nevada to make homes for themselves on California soil, the Spanish and Mexican residents of the country grew increasingly uneasy. So it was almost inevitable that, when that thunderbolt of energy and ambition, Captain John C. Frémont, reached California in late 1845, a series of unhappy events involving both the Americans and the native residents of California was sure to take place.

First, there was the Gabilan Peak episode of March, 1846, in which the Californian forces of General José Castro were openly

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defied by Frémont. Then followed the capture of Lieutenant Arce's herd of 150 Mexican horses and, in June, 1846, the famous and infamous Bear Flag Revolt. Of this latter incident in California's history innumerable accounts have been written. And much has been said on both sides regarding its historical necessity or justification. But, in the final analysis, one fact remains: the Bear Flag Revolt contributed little to the progress toward peaceful American occupation of California that enlightened leaders of both sides were working for; instead, it added fuel to the already burning fire of antagonism between the Americans and the native Californians.

One of the most unfortunate incidents arising from this feeling of antagonism took place in late June, 1846, involving the Juan Padilla band of Californians. This group of twenty or thirty reckless men had ranged through the country around San Francisco Bay for many days awaiting developments at Sonoma in the Bear Flag Revolt.¹¹ One of the officers in the band was José Ramon Carrillo,—of the "Carrillos of San Diego."

Although they committed no hostilities at a time when they could well have done so, the group eventually became involved in violence when, at Santa Rosa on June 18 or 19, two Americans—Thomas Cowie and George Fowler — were murdered.¹² Both of these men had been members of the Bear Flag Party, and rumors immediately spread that they had been cruelly tortured before their deaths. Many persons believed José Ramon Carrillo to have been involved. And although both he and his friends maintained that he had had no complicity in the crime, suspicion and bitterness toward him continued in many quarters.¹³

During the Mexican War, José Ramon joined General Castro and his Californian forces, going south and taking part in some of the most important campaigns of the war. In September, 1846, he was part of a group of *Californios* under the command of Servulo Varela who had risen against the United States soldiers then holding Los Angeles.¹⁴ Later in September or early October, Carrillo and Varela were in command of a similar group of Californians who, coming from Los Angeles, aided José Lugo in the siege of Benito Wilson at Rancho Chino. Here, José Ramon was credited by Michael White, one of the besieged party, with having inter-

vened to prevent the execution of the Americans after their surrender. He said: "They say that I am an assassin. I will prove to the world that I am not."¹⁵

December 6, 1846, was a proud day in the life of José Ramon Carrillo. As one of the skillful and courageous Californian "Lancers" under General Andres Pico, he fought fearlessly at the tiny Indian village of San Pascual, north of San Diego. The Californians' opponents were United States dragoons from the "Army of the West" commanded by Brigadier General Stephen Watts Kearny. This was the bloodiest military encounter ever to take place on California soil, but after the smoke of battle had cleared, the Californian force, badly outnumbered from the first, found itself miraculously victorious.

Upon the conclusion of the war, Carrillo remained in Southern California and, in February, 1847, married Señora Vicenta Sepulveda de Yorba, daughter of Francisco Sepulveda and Ramona Serrano, and widow of the respected Southern California ranchero, Don Tomás Yorba.¹⁶ Following their marriage, José Ramon and his wife lived in the 18 room Yorba adobe on Rancho La Sierrita near Santa Ana. In 1851, while in San Diego, Carrillo purchased the furniture of William Heath Davis for use in his home at La Sierrita.¹⁷

Doña Vicenta continued in the management of the property she had accumulated during her marriage to Yorba and, in 1858, bought an 18,000 acre tract of Jonathan Warner's ranch in San Diego County. There, for several years, a large number of cattle and sheep were grazed, under the management and part-ownership of José Ramon.¹⁸

Three sons and five daughters were born of this marriage. They were: José Ramon, a lifetime resident of the town of Yorba, whose children were Esperanza Carrillo and Mrs. Ellen Reeves of Yorba; Clodromio, long a resident of Santa Ana, who had a son, Charles G. Carrillo; Garibaldo, born at Warner's Ranch, who was a well-known cattleman; María Ygnacia Harris; Encarnacion (Chapeta) Richards; Natalia (Mrs. Adolph) Rimpau; Felicidad Kirby; and Edelfrida Alvarado.

In later years, José Ramon Carrillo was tried by both the

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Vigilantes and the legally constituted courts of California for the murders of Cowie and Fowler. He had consistently maintained his innocence of these crimes; and though Americans connected with the Bear Flag Party had long suspected him, there was no more than a pittance of circumstantial evidence to link him to the murders. Before both tribunals, he was promptly acquitted.

Numerous stories were told of José Ramon's supposed exploits in the years after his alleged involvement with the murders of Cowie and Fowler.¹⁹ One of these alleged that he was a notorious highwayman and buried three boxes of stolen treasure in a wash somewhere between Cucamonga and San Bernardino. After his death, so the story goes, an Indian who had helped him in the burial told the story of the hidden treasure to two settlers from New Mexico, who later confided the same story to an American. This latter man is supposed to have thereupon set out on an earnest but unsuccessful search for the buried treasure.²⁰ And very probably he did, for even until recent years, credulous treasure seekers have dug in washes and under trees between Cucamonga and San Bernardino in a diligent but unrewarding search for the legendary booty.

Through the years there seems to have been considerable confusion concerning the names of José Ramon Carrillo. Most frequently he was referred to as "Ramon," following the not infrequent practice among Spanish-Californians of dropping the first given name. At other times he was confusedly called "Joaquin," the proper name of his brother. Because of José Ramon's constant activity during the years from 1846 to 1864, during which time he was often referred to as "Joaquin Carrillo" or "Carillo," it seems possible that he was partially responsible for the composite legend of Joaquin Murieta. John Rolin Ridge, in his original account of the infamous bandit's life, states this: "There were two Joaquin's bearing the various surnames of Murieta, O'Comorenia, Valenzuela, Botellier, and Carillo—so that it was supposed there were no less than five sanguinary devils ranging the country at one and the same time."²¹ Whether or not José Ramon was a "sanguinary devil" and one of the individuals referred to by Ridge cannot be definitely known.

In 1858, Rancho Cucamonga, located a short distance from Carrillo's home at Santa Ana, was purchased by John Rains and his wife, Mercedes Williams de Rains. Soon after, a new home was built on the property and extensive acres were set out in grapes and other crops. José Ramon Carrillo was installed on the rancho as superintendent of stock. Cucamonga seemed to be enjoying a vigorous prosperity.

Then, on November 17, 1862, John Rains' body was found on the road to Los Angeles, shot in the back, evidently dragged through the brush and cactus, and left to the coyotes. There was no evidence to indicate his murderer.²²

Suspicious fingers were pointed at several persons, among them José Ramon. In 1863 he was arraigned before Judge Benjamin Hayes in Los Angeles, but after examination, was discharged. Opinion in Los Angeles was sharply divided over his connection with the crime, and there was much secret discussion.²³

Meanwhile, a man by the name of Manuel Cerredell, ill with smallpox and expecting to die, confessed that he had been one of several men involved in the murder of Rains. Cerredell got well, was tried and sentenced to San Quentin. But before he could be transported north, he was taken from the custody of the authorities by a party of vigilantes and summarily hanged.

Now José Ramon made only infrequent visits to Cucamonga—keeping out of sight and reach of the vigilantes. There was rumor to the effect that he was hiding in the mountains with some twenty or more adherents and that the military of the district had orders to shoot him on sight.²⁴ The *Los Angeles News* accused him of being the leader of a band of cutthroats who were responsible for several recent assaults and murders. He had abundant reason to consider his life in danger.

Sometime later, Judge Hayes asked the commander at Drum Barracks, Colonel Curtis, to supply Carrillo with military protection. And late in 1863 or 1864 José Ramon presented himself to the colonel.²⁵

In 1861, in his capacity as a Union Army scout, Carrillo had been sent into Arizona and along the Sonoran frontier to gather information concerning rebel forces. Now, the Los Angeles cor-



— Robert Ramon Harris Collection

VICENTA SEPULVEDA DE YORBA
DE CARRILLO

*Married Jose Ramon Carillo
in February, 1847.*



— Courtesy Anita Carrillo Myers

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respondent of the *Alta California* wrote to his editor in San Francisco that José Ramon's object in procuring his interview with Curtis was to satisfy the colonel "that it was not because he was believed to be the instigator of the murder of Rains that he was pursued with such pertinacity, but because he knew of a conspiracy that existed in the early part of 1862 to capture a train of military stores that was en route from San Pedro to Fort Yuma, and transfer the same to the Confederates who were at that time in Tucson."²⁶ Soon after, Carrillo went to Los Angeles to confer with several of the leading members of the Vigilance Committee. And at about that time an apparent change of feeling toward him took place among the inhabitants of the city.

In April, 1864, José Ramon wrote to his brother, Julio: "The person who has always persecuted me is a man by the name of Bob Carlisle [John Rains' brother-in-law]. He does not do it personally but through others paid by him. The reason for this continued abuse is that I did not abandon my place as superintendent of the stock at the time of John Rains' death, and that I still hold the position . . . He is trying to get the power which I have from the widow herself, who is the absolute owner of the property . . . I am resolved to protect her if it costs my life."²⁷

Mrs. Rains was driving in her carriage on the highway west of Cucamonga Stage Station. José Ramon was accompanying her on horseback. Suddenly, a shot rang out, and Carrillo fell from his horse. Regaining his feet, he walked about a thousand yards, only to sink a short distance from the tavern kept by William Rubottom near the sycamores on the westside of Red Hill. He was carried into the tavern where he died within a few hours.²⁸

The attitude of the *Californios* concerning his death can easily be imagined. Judge Hayes wrote in a letter to John Brown: "You have little idea of the quiet, deep-seated rage of the Californians on the subject. I think I understand them perfectly. They ask me continually if the authorities of San Bernardino are going to do something in relation to it. But in general they say little about it—so much the worse. If they were excited and passionate and clamorous, I should have less apprehension."²⁹

José Ramon's murderer was never judicially identified. His

death was as mysterious as had been that of John Rains. Lewis Love, a man who had been living at Rubottom's Tavern for several weeks before the shooting, and who disappeared shortly thereafter, was strongly suspected of the crime. Captain Henry Wilkes, who had been sheriff of San Bernardino County shortly before and was now under-sheriff, conducted an official investigation of the case. Writing to Judge Hayes, he said: "The report you heard in regard to Love as the murderer was correct. There is not a doubt of it. His object in doing so you can judge as well as myself—he could have none personally, for he never spoke a word to Carrillo." Two days after receiving Wilkes letter, Hayes swore to a complaint against Love, and on an order issued by Judge Pablo de la Guerra, Hayes' successor in the District Court, Love was arrested in San Francisco in August and delivered to the sheriff of San Bernardino County. But when the grand jury met in September, it refused to indict him, declaring that there was insufficient evidence for conviction. Jose Ramon Carrillo's murderer was never discovered, and eventually the crime was forgotten.

In later years it was reported that a Mexican outlaw by the name of Bernardino García, alias "Four-Fingered Jack," had confessed to the 1846 murders of Cowie and Fowler.³⁰ Thus was Carrillo once again absolved of complicity in that crime.

He had led a life of intrigue and adventure, a vigorous, reckless, intense life; and he died as he had lived. But there had been more than dare-devil audacity in his character, there had been patriotism and dogged courage,—courage, not only in battle or in the face of a lunging grizzly bear,—but courage to face an unjust public scorn. José Ramon Carrillo was never convicted of a serious crime, though he paid with his life for what others had convicted him of in their minds. He came of a fine family, and his family always stood behind him. As late as June 10, 1863, his brother-in-law, General Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo, wrote to Francisca Benicia Carrillo Vallejo from San Francisco:

I have just seen Tederica Fichet and Don Andres Pico and other gentlemen that came from Los Angeles. They said that they had just left your brother, Ramon Carrillo, on a rancho good and healthy, and that everything that has been said . . . about him is false.


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Of his general character, it has been said that José Ramon was a rough and reckless man, often in poor company, but not regarded as bad by those who knew him best. William Heath Davis speaks fondly of his meetings with Carrillo during the early days of California, and writes: "José Ramon Carrillo . . . was himself as gentle as a lamb. There always appeared on his face, whether in conversation or not, a peculiar smile, which indicated his good nature."³¹

* * * *

PART XI

Juan and Dolores Carrillo

WO SONS OF JOAQUIN AND MARIA IGNACIA Lopez de Carrillo died at early ages, and there is little information to be found in historical records concerning their lives. Their names were Juan and Dolores Carrillo.

María Ignacia Lopez de Carrillo petitioned on January 19, 1838, for her Rancho *Cabeza de Santa Rosa* in Sonoma County.³² At that time she listed herself as a widow with five boys and four girls. The four girls were her then-unmarried daughters: María de la Luz, Juana de Jesus, Felicidad and Marta. The five boys were: Joaquin, José Ramon, Julio, and the above mentioned Juana and Dolores.

All of the sons of María Ignacia Carrillo performed military duty in Sonoma in the early 1840's. Juan Carrillo is listed in provincial records as having been a soldier of the San Francisco Presidial Company, headquarters of which were at Sonoma, in 1841. His age at that time was probably about twenty years. Dolores Carrillo is listed as having been at Sonoma in 1844, aged twenty.³³ He was born probably in 1824.

Juan Carrillo, the eldest of these two sons, was poisoned early in the 1840's at *Cabeza de Santa Rosa*. The presumed culprit was a negro cook then in the employ of María Ignacia Lopez de Carrillo.³⁴ Juan was taken to Sonoma, where he died in a short time. He was buried in the Chapel of Mission San Francisco Solano de Sonoma, near the hallowed Franciscan altar. Here, in 1849, his mother was to join him in burial.

PART XII

Julio Carrillo

ULIO CARRILLO, YOUNGEST SON OF JOAQUIN and María Ignacia, was born in the *Casa de Carrillo* in San Diego in 1826.

Following the death of his father, in about 1836, Julio, with his mother, brothers, and sisters, moved to the region north of San Francisco Bay, and in 1838 assumed ownership of the spacious rancho *Cabeza de Santa Rosa*. Here, in the fertile and picturesque Santa Rosa Valley, Julio Carrillo was to live his life of happiness and sorrow for fifty years to come.

The dowager Señora Carrillo selected a homesite in the central part of the valley, on the wooded banks of the Santa Rosa Creek. Here, Julio and her other sons, supervised by Salvador Vallejo, built the large and spacious Carrillo adobe. This house, the first built in the Santa Rosa region, was located less than thirty miles from the menacing Russian settlement of Fort Ross and was at that time Spanish California's most northerly adobe. Indians were numerous in this area, and great numbers of wild bear freely roamed the countryside—posing a constant but never overwhelming danger to this sturdy pioneer family.

Julio's sisters, Francisca Benicia Carrillo de Vallejo and María de la Luz Carrillo de Vallejo, lived almost twenty miles south of Santa Rosa in the pueblo of Sonoma. The entire north-bay region was under the military command of Francisca's husband, General Vallejo. Visiting between Santa Rosa and Sonoma was frequent, with open-handed California hospitality prevailing in both places. The Carrillo boys were subject to military duty in the 1840's under the authority of the Presidio of San Francisco, centered at Sonoma. In later years, Julio wrote that he "entered the employ of General Vallejo at the age of 17,"³⁵ and this may be taken as evidence of military service, for at that time the northern frontier of California was maintained by the General almost exclusively out of his personal earnings.

In June of 1846, the month of the abortive Bear Flag Revolt,

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Julio was still in Sonoma. When Mariano Vallejo, Salvador Vallejo, and Julio's brother, Joaquin, were taken as prisoners to Sutter's Fort, Julio's sisters, Francisca and María de la Luz, prevailed upon him to go to the Sacramento and report back upon the condition of the prisoners. With a pass obtained from the Bear Flag commander in Sonoma, Julio departed for Sutter's late in June. When he arrived he was permitted to talk with his brother and his brothers-in-law and to sympathize with their humiliating situation. They had long been friends of the American immigrants who were crossing the Sierra Nevadas to make homes for themselves on California's sunny soil. Their imprisonment now was nothing but a monstrous *faux pas*, a blunder by the master blunderer, John C. Fremont. But Julio saw that their condition was not unbearable, that Captain Sutter was endeavoring to treat the prisoners Fremont had forced on him with a certain measure of courtesy. This was the news that he would bring to his sisters.

But when Julio rose to leave, he found a man with a rifle standing in the doorway before him. The pass he had obtained in Sonoma was to be revoked, and he would not be permitted to leave the fort. "Fremont's orders," was the only explanation. Let his sisters' anxieties go unchecked!

For more than a month Julio was a prisoner. If conditions at Sutter's Fort had been almost pleasant at first, they changed radically as time passed. The prisoners were made *incomunicado*; the food served them was meagre, and their beds were almost unsleepable. Many days passed without a ray of sunshine reaching them. In the outside world, momentous events were taking place, but if Julio, Joaquin, and their Vallejo brothers-in-law knew of them, it was only through whispered rumors. On July 7, California had passed from Mexican rule into the hands of the United States. Weeks dragged by, and finally a message reached Sacramento, directed to Lieutenant Joseph Warren Revere, grandson of the famous Paul Revere. It read:

By order of Commodore Robert F. Stockton, who has succeeded to the command of the U. S. Forces in the Pacific Ocean and California, you will please liberate General Don Guadalupe Vallejo and Don Julio Carrillo from confinement to return to their homes.³⁶

Back in Sonoma and Santa Rosa, Carrillo and Vallejo found that their absence had cost them dearly. Herds of cattle and horses had been plundered, crops desecrated, and warehouses sacked. Where abundant prosperity had once prevailed, ruin was now to be seen. Julio and his brothers attempted to restore the Carrillo rancho at Santa Rosa to its former condition. But with hundreds of "Gringos" coming into California each year determined to live off the fat of the fertile ranch-land, their chances at success were dim. A few years later, Don Julio was to estimate his losses in damages resulting from the Bear Flag Revolt at more than \$17,000, then a very sizable sum. The United States government admitted that it owed him some reparation,—but it was not overgenerous. In the end, Julio was given \$2,670.

Upon the death of María Ignacia Lopez de Carrillo in 1849, Julio and his sisters inherited parts of the *Cabeza de Santa Rosa* rancho. Juana, Felicidad, and Marta Carrillo received property upon which the old Carrillo adobe stood. Julio received a section that lay across Santa Rosa Creek from his sisters' holdings and bordered Rancho *San Miguel*. In the late 1840's or early 1850's, Julio erected an adobe home there, near what was later to become the corner of Second and Main Streets in Santa Rosa. The house was built for him by John Bailiff.³⁷

The advent of American rule brought about a sudden change in the old Californian way of life. The native residents of the state, who had lived for nearly eighty years in an idyllic agrarian paradise, saw all that had been familiar to them suddenly rent asunder. The change of language from Spanish to English was not the most striking transformation. Economics, religion, agriculture, social modes, and law—these things, too, were suddenly altered. Adjustment on the part of the native Californians was oftentimes difficult. One record from the earliest days of American rule attests to this. It is dated October 2, 1846:

U. States Vs. Julio Carrillo. After having examined the case the Court is of the opinion that the defendant is guilty of the alleged allegation, theft; therefore the judgement is that the deft. be condemned to hard labors of the public works for 8 days.³⁸

There is no mention of what Julio had stolen, but judging from

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the depleted conditions of his herds at that time (this was just after the Bear Flag Revolt), it was probably a steer. He would certainly have had need for such an animal for food. But regardless of what the specific object was, the principle remained the same. Salvador Vallejo, in memoirs written for Hubert Howe Bancroft, pleaded the case of Julio Carrillo and countless other native Californians who were enmeshed to a greater or lesser degree in the claws of the new and strange American laws:

"Formerly our cattle roamed by thousands," Salvador writes, "yet not one was stolen, for the unwritten law of the land granted to the weary traveler the privilege of killing cattle whenever he wanted beef, so long as he placed the hide where the owner could easily find it. Since the transfer of California to the United States many native Californians have been hanged for stealing cattle, and I firmly believe that some of the victims did not know that under the new government it was a crime to kill a steer for which they had not a bill of sale."³⁹

A footnote to Julio's pathetic case states this:

The above judgement is commuted by order of Lieutenant Revere by the fine of nine dollars. Rec'd payment. (Signed) John Nash.⁴⁰

This was the advent of Americanism for the *Californio*.

In 1850, Major Edwin A. Sherman, together with the Sonoma County Surveyor and Lieutenant George Derby of the U. S. Topographical Engineers, undertook a survey of the Carrillo rancho *Cabeza de Santa Rosa*. Sherman writes of his experiences:

"But two houses were there then, one being occupied by the owner, Julio Carrillo . . . The rancho covered several leagues of land, upon which were thousands of cattle and hundreds of horses, as on all other Spanish grants in California."

Don Julio heard the surveyors speaking in English about the Masonic Lodge then being organized in Sonoma. The rites of Masonry were completely unfamiliar to him, but he was anxious to learn them. Major Sherman writes: "I was asked to interpret for him, which I did. He was delighted to be informed and inquired the cost. He was told that it was one hundred and fifty dollars with all the extras; but that it was necessary for him to have a fine new branding iron, made of polished steel, for branding every

animal that he should afterwards sell or give away, and that he must first be branded with it himself!" Julio pondered the situation for a few moments, then, with a slight hesitation, said "Está bueno." He gave Derby an order for the money in Sonoma, and signed the petition to the Lodge that Derby wrote out for him; and in due time it was presented to the Lodge for its action. Carrillo was elected and the time set for his initiation . . .

"The new branding iron of polished steel had been made," Sherman continues, "and I had an Indian carry up some large adobe bricks to my room on the second story, a little way off from the preparation room of the Lodge, where a small forge was set up. I obtained the loan of a large hand bellows from Don Pepe, a Californian silversmith, who made ornaments for saddles and bridles. I also procured about a gallon of charcoal and a piece of rawhide with the hair on it, and made everything ready for Section I of that initiation, not provided for in the ritual. When the time came and the candidate was ready, the branding iron was ready, too, and was handed to Derby who, with a piece of paper between it and the flesh, quickly applied it to the candidate's left hip, at the same time that I put the piece of rawhide on the burning coals. Carrillo exclaimed fiercely, "Es bastante, es bastante!" (it is enough!) the smell of the burning hide making him think that it was his own flesh that was burning, as he was blindfolded and could not see. After the first reception, when he returned to the preparation room, he wanted to see where he had been burned, but could see no sear, and therefore thought it was a miracle." Thus Julio Carrillo became California's first native-born Mason.⁴¹

In the early 1850's, Julio Carrillo married Señorita Teodosia Bojorques, a member of one of Spanish California's earliest pioneer families.⁴² Teodosia's grandfather, José Ramon Bojorques, had come to California in 1775 as part of the second expedition of Captain Juan Bautista de Anza, and was thus one of the first settlers of San Francisco.⁴³ On November 22, 1854, Julio's son Francisco Alberto Carrillo, was baptized by Archbishop Joseph Alemany. The infant's godmother was Julio's sister, Josefa Carrillo de Fitch, then living northeast of Santa Rosa on her Rancho *Sotoyomi*. Other children of Julio and Teodosia Carrillo were Elizabeth, Felicia,

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Lulu, Alexander and Babe.⁴⁴ Alexander Carrillo, youngest son of Julio, died in San Francisco on February 13, 1947, at the age of 86.

In the early 1850's, the City of Santa Rosa was founded on the old *Cabeza de Santa Rosa* rancho. Julio Carrillo lacked the business experience that characterized the American pioneers in his midst, but he was not to be outdone by anyone in generosity. When a survey for the new city was made, Julio gave property in the central block for a plaza. He envisioned there luxurious landscaping, playing fountains, a bandstand, and afternoon concerts like those held in the plazas of Latin American cities.⁴⁵ This, he reasoned, would do the City of Santa Rosa proud!

A few years later, Santa Rosa became the seat of Sonoma County, and the central square of the town was selected as the site for the new Courthouse. Julio's beneficence brought him little reward, even though he enjoyed a certain amount of recognition among the early-day residents of the city. Most of them knew that he had donated the land for Sonoma's Courthouse, and they spoke to him cordially when he was seen on the streets. But as for real gratitude, there was little among them.

Julio was jovial, big-hearted, and generous almost to the end of his days; but as the years passed by his business-sense remained nil. His lands in and around Santa Rosa steadily diminished, and, as they did, his future grew more and more bleak. Still, Julio was an inveterate poker player, who has been characterized by one writer as a man "who could drop a league of rancho in a brief poker game with a cheerful 'Adios' to speed the parting."

Toward the end of his life, title to the property on which the Sonoma County Courthouse stood came under dispute. As a gesture of repayment, County officials offered Julio a job in the Courthouse. It was an ignominious position as janitor and caretaker, but Julio was too poor to refuse. In addition to cleaning up around the building, he served occasionally as Court Caller—announcing in a voice that carried throughout almost the entire city the opening of sessions of Court. Later, he was given a monthly subsistence allotment of \$10.⁴⁶

The native Sons of the Golden West admitted Julio Carrillo as an honorary member in the last years of his life. But it was a

hollow reward. On October 30, 1889, Julio died quietly in Santa Rosa. Harkening back to the days when he had been California's first native-born Mason, he was given a Masonic funeral.

Julio Carrillo was only 62 years old at his death, but he had seen a vast panorama of California history pass before him in his lifetime. Thirteen years later, his widow, Teodosia Bojorques de Carrillo, filed a petition for the estate of her husband. At that time his property was appraised at the meagre sum of \$1,050.⁴⁷

A colorful pioneer in California's early days, Julio Carrillo had reason to be disillusioned by the American conquest. He did not complain, but faced his troubles with a smile. He had helped to bring his troubles on himself. And, after all, he reasoned philosophically, poverty was the fate of the *Californio*.

NOTES

(I wish to thank the following persons for help received in the preparation of these articles: Robert Ramon Harris, grandson of José Ramon Carrillo; Mrs. Mildred Caseres, widow of the late Francisco Caseres; Mrs. Madie D. Brown; and Mrs. Natalia Vallejo McGinty.)

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30. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 752. [Whether or not this man was the same as Murieta's famous side-kick, "Three-Fingered Jack," is not definitely known. "Three-Fingered Jack's real name has been given as *Manuel Garcia*.]
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The Story of Rancho Los Cerritos*

By W. W. Robinson



ONE OF THE MOST POPULAR and glamorous words in California speech is "rancho." It comes out of the pastoral period of California's history, as all of you know, when princely grants of valley lands, ranchos thousands of acres in extent, were bestowed upon those fortunate men who had the ear of a Spanish or Mexican governor.

Some of us today have become so rancho conscious, so rancho-happy, that we apply the word rancho to golf courses, petshops, one-acre lots, soups, and a hundred other business activities or products. We even export the glamor word, and I doubt if there is a state in the Union that does not now have a Rancho Motel.

Others of us have a deep-rooted, nostalgic feeling about ranchos and rancho living. Newcomers to the state soon become aware of this heritage from a pastoral past.

Today we discuss one of California's truly great ranchos, Los Cerritos. No California rancho better sums up in its story the transformation from cattle ranch to metropolis than does Rancho Los Cerritos.

The ranch of "the little hills"—*los cerritos* (Signal Hill and others)—was once owned by one man. Today it embraces within its boundaries the heart of the city of Long Beach and all of Lakewood, Signal Hill, Paramount, and part of Bellflower, incorporated areas lived in and owned by several hundred thousand people.

Rancho Los Cerritos started as a cattle range. After that it was a sheep pasture. It became a barley field . . . a seaside resort and town . . . in part a huge oil field. Finally it developed into a

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great city—and several smaller cities—with miles of homes, large business sections, industrial areas, and a harbor with extensive shipping.

Los Cerritos had an Indian phase, with villages of brown-skinned, Shoshonean people along the coast, fishermen and traders whose pine-plank canoes sped between the mainland and Catalina Island. For the present purpose I begin with a Spanish soldier named Manuel Nieto who was stationed in 1784 at the Royal Presidio of San Diego. Like many another Southern California pioneer, he had come originally from the Sinaloa area in Mexico. So we are informed by our genealogical friend and historian, Tom Temple. In this year of 1784 Nieto was not thinking of the young nation that was getting on its feet along the Atlantic Coast after a revolutionary war. Instead, he was thinking of his own retirement, for he had behind him long years of Army service. Probably he was 65 years old, the normal retirement age then as now.

Nieto presented a petition to his commander, Pedro Fages, governor of California. Some good clerical friend at the Presidio drew up the petition, in which Nieto reminded the governor that he had a herd of cattle and horses but no place to graze them. "I request Your Worship's charity," the petition continued, "that you be pleased to assign me a place situated at least three leagues distance from the Mission San Gabriel along the road to the Royal Presidio of San Carlos de Monterey [Monterey Road to us] named La Sanja." He promised to harm neither the Mission nor the nearby Pueblo of the Queen of the Angels.

Nieto was not alone in asking for grazing land. Two of his comrades, bearing the now well known names of Dominguez and Verdugo, were also retirement-minded. Probably the three acted jointly and almost concurrently.

The governor's reply to Nieto was the same as to Dominguez and Verdugo. It was "Yes". It took the form of a marginal note on the petition itself, military fashion. The day Governor Fages granted Manuel Nieto permission to keep his stock at La Sanja "*or its environs*" was October 21, 1784. Such were the California grants or concessions of Spanish days — no royal signatures, no ribbons, no flourishes.

Now where did Nieto and his two comrades get their cattle and horses? I feel sure they all came from the Presidio's surplusage of stock. San Diego, like the other presidios, maintained for the needs of the garrison a large grazing area—the "rancho of the

King" it was called—and this one was located at about the site of today's National City. From this *rancho del Rey*, now in San Diego County, probably came all the cattle and horses with which California's first three ranchos were stocked.

Carrying his documents with him and driving his stock ahead of him, the veteran Nieto left San Diego. He reached and first settled down in the San Gabriel Valley. But the priests of San Gabriel looked with disfavor on this newcomer who took over land belonging, they said, to the neophytes and actually under Mission supervision. Nieto was forced to make several moves, meanwhile complaining bitterly to the governor. One move included a brief stay in the place of "the oaks," which might well have been Santa Anita. At least by 1790, however, he settled down without opposition in a fertile region southwest of the present city of Whittier. Today it is called Los Nietos.

Manuel Nieto built for himself and family a square-shaped adobe hut. It was the one that many years later became known as Lemuel Carpenter's place and that was destroyed in the floods of 1867. Nieto proved that he was not too old to plant wheat and corn, not too old to persuade settlers from the Pueblo to join him, not too old to raise cattle and horses successfully, not too old to have disputes over boundaries and stock with his neighbors.

Before 1800 he had extended his operations throughout a vast area. His cattle grazed over an immense grass-covered plain that stretched as far south as the bluffs overlooking the Pacific Ocean. On the northwest the cattle wandered to the Los Angeles River or, as it was then called, the San Gabriel—and frequently got mixed up with the stock of Juan José Dominguez who owned the great Rancho San Pedro on the other side of the river. Nieto's cattle ranged southeast, through deep grass, to the Santa Ana River, boundary of what would become Yorba territory. The northerly limits—the rear boundary—of Nieto's land was Camino Viejo, the old road that led from the Pueblo of Los Angeles to San Diego, following in part present day Whittier Boulevard.

This enormous area — about 167,000 acres — had become Manuel Nieto's through undisputed possession and the elastic authority contained in Governor Fages' concession. His children grew to adulthood, and Rancho Los Nietos was split into five great ranchos — one of them Los Cerritos. These five were: Las Bolsas, stretching back from the sea along the Santa Ana River; Los Alamitos fronting on the ocean and taking in part of the land of the

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present city of Long Beach; Santa Gertrudes and Los Coyotes on Camino Viejo; and Los Cerritos which is the subject of today's meeting. In time the Mexican Nation, succeeding to the King of Spain in ownership of California, recognized the Nieto family claim and re-granted these five ranchos to children of Manuel Nieto who died in 1804.

A daughtr, Manuela, received from Governor Figueroa a grant of the five-square-league Rancho Los Cerritos on May 22, 1834. Her brother, Juan José Nieto, got the adjoining Los Alamitos.

If time permitted — and it doesn't — there are interesting incidents that could be told concerning the Nieto period. These are revealed by old documents in the Spanish Archives that until the great fire of 1906 reposed in San Francisco. For example, I've seen an account, copied before the fire, and never published, of meetings between Nieto and Dominguez that took place at the Officers' House in the Town of the Angels. The time was August of 1803. Any record from so early a period in Los Angeles history is very rare. Apparently it took two meetings before Dominguez could be persuaded to put his mark of approval to a paper that later gave Nieto a claim to 4,000 cattle, horses, mules and burros. Also, out of these Archives is the story of the trek which the Los Angeles Council — the *Ayuntamiento* — took in June of 1828 to the flooded mouth of the San Gabriel (Los Angeles) River to attempt to establish a new boundary between the ranchos of Dominguez and Nieto. The councilmen over-stepped their authority, and made Dominguez a present of land which they thought Nieto didn't need. Governor Echeandía denounced their act as "illegal and improper." As a result, the *Ayuntamiento* humbly apologized for the awkward manner in which they had expressed themselves, for their propensity to make mistakes, and for their ignorance.

But to get back to Manuela Nieto, the grantee of Los Cerritos. She had acquired a husband, Guillermo Cota, the grandson of pioneer Andrés Cota, and they had built a home near the river. Probably this was not the first building on the rancho for herdsmen's huts may have been built at a much earlier period. This marriage brought Manuela into contact with a Yankee named John Temple. Temple had married Rafaela Cota, a second cousin of Manuela's husband. Temple had come to Los Angeles in 1827, had started a general merchandise store, and had begun the career that would make him famous as a builder and financier in Los Angeles.

Juan Temple purchased Rancho Los Cerritos late in 1843, by

buying out the heirs of Manuela who had died a few years earlier. The price he paid for the rancho's 27,000 acres was \$3,025 — about 13 cents an acre, half in cash, half in merchandise. Now as a *ranchero* he went in for large-scale stock-raising. The stately and really fabulous home he built on Los Cerritos is, in restored form, the proud possession today of the City of Long Beach. From this mansion he governed his domain upon which he pastured 15,000 cattle, 7,000 sheep, and 3,000 horses. Temple's neighbor was Abel Stearns, another hardbitten Yankee, the owner of Los Alamitos. On each rancho there were rodeos and barbecues, and on these occasions many a cask of wine was opened. Annually there was horseracing between the two establishments, the race course being from El Cerrito — our Signal Hill — to the beach and back. On one occasion, when a thousand head of cattle had been wagered, Temple won with his ungainly horse Beserero. The celebration and the feasting that time lasted all night.

Los Cerritos had its long cycle of prosperous, happy years. California became a part of the United States, which upheld Juan Temple's title.

Then came the drought years of the early 1860's which largely ended rancho days in California. This drought climaxed a depression in which the drop in cattle prices had already practically ruined the cattle owners. Temple, like Stearns, lost his rancho. That is, under the pressure of debt, Temple found it necessary in 1866 to sell. The price he got was \$20,000 for his lands and his herds, hardly 75 cents an acre.

The new purchasers of Los Cerritos were Llewellyn Bixby and his two cousins Benjamin and Thomas Flint — all three successful sheepmen and landowners from the northern part of the state. They had come to California from Maine in the early days of the Gold Rush. They had made a second trip out to the Coast in 1853. This time they undertook the sensational and successful venture of bringing with them from Keokuk, Iowa, to Southern California a flock of 2,000 sheep, eleven yoke of oxen, two cows, four horses, three dogs, two wagons, and a complete camping outfit. The procession crossed Utah, the Mojave Desert, suffered great hardships, came down Cajon Pass into the little Mormon settlement of San Bernardino, then through the Cucamonga vineyards into San Gabriel, and finally to Rancho San Pascual—site of Pasadena—where pasturage had been leased.

A younger brother of Llewellyn, Jotham Bixby, was made

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ranch manager at Los Cerritos. Later he bought a half interest. He transformed Temple's former domain into a sheep pasture. Wool-producing was then a very profitable business, and it became its chief activity. When Jotham's cousin, John W. Bixby, came out from Maine in 1878 he leased the adjoining Los Alamitos. Later the Bixby family bought it—making 55,000 acres of land to be operated as a giant sheep ranch. Later they began to lease portions for the raising of wheat and barley where, after the harvests, the Bixby sheep were turned in upon the stubblefields.

The story of life on these two ranchos during the Bixby-Flint era has been told with distinction, humor, and charm by a daughter of Llewellyn Bixby, Sarah Bixby Smith. *Adobe Days* is the title of her book, and the importance of this Southern California classic increases as the years pass.

Quoting from the author of *Adobe Days*:

"The sheep are all gone, and shearers and dippers are gone, too. The pastoral life gave way to the agricultural, and that in turn to town and city. There is Long Beach . . . when I first knew it, a barley field with one small house and shed standing about where Pine and First Streets cross. And the beach was our own private, wonderful beach; we children felt that our world was reeling when it was sold . . . Never a footprint except the few we made, only to be washed away by the next tide."

This quotation is practically a windup of my story. A subdivider—the villain—appeared first on this tranquil scene in 1882—to the consternation of the children of the ranch. He was William Erwin Wilmore, organizer of the "American Colony," and operating under an option secured from Bixby and Flint. Willmore City was not a success but Long Beach—launched in 1887—was. Before the boom of the Eighties had subsided, Long Beach was widely known as a delightful seaside resort, and the people were pouring in on the Wilmington Branch of the Southern Pacific Railroad.

A popular guidebook of the time commented:

"The social life at Long Beach is of a kind that most delights people of refined tastes. There is nothing loud; there is much that is esthetic. It is, par excellence, an educational watering-place . . . The Chautauqua Assembly has its annual meeting here every summer . . . The beach is a perfect, natural race-course, and during the season spanking teams from the city can always be seen dashing over the superb driveway."

Oil was discovered at Signal Hill in 1921. El Cerrito, a resi-

dence section, became a geyser of black gold, making everybody happy except those Signal Hill homeowners who had sold just before the great discovery. If the geologist who had offered earlier to drink all the oil there was in Long Beach had been called upon to make good, he would have drunk at least a billion barrels of oil. In 1925 the major inner and outer harbor project got under way. Heavy immigration from the Middle West during the 1920's earned for Long Beach the title of "Seacoast of Iowa." In spite of this influx of people, the historic house built by John Temple survived and in 1930 was lovingly restored by Mr. and Mrs. Llewellyn Bixby, Jr. Today this handsome home and its gardens form an island in the swirling tides of Greater Long Beach which has 430,000 people. It continues to remind us of the whole romantic story of Rancho Los Cerritos.

Ranchos indeed become cities!

Book Reviews

A PECULIAR PIECE OF DESERT. *The Story of California's Morongo Basin.* By Lula Rasmussen O'Neal. (Westernlore Press, an edition limited to 450 copies. 1957.) *Illustrated*, map printed on end papers, bibliography, Index. \$7.50.

A descriptive book that will delight anyone who has travelled to Morongo Valley and Twenty-Nine Palms and the surrounding country. Mrs. O'Neal settled near Paradise Valley by homesteading soon after her arrival in Southern California and felt the need of some book on this area. She set about to fill this need and this book is the result. She has delved into the history of the Morongo Valley, has researched its mines both past and present, and has enlarged on Yucca Valley, Joshua National Monument, the Oasis of Mora, and closes with the geology and flora and fauna. Finally, she closes with the remark that "after all, 138,000 jackrabbit homesteaders can't be wrong." This book will find an appreciative audience. — G.E.M.

SIoux TRAIL ADVENTURE. By Lyla Hoffine. (Caxton Printers, Ltd. 1957. pp. 160. \$3.00) *Illustrated*, maps on the end papers show the Great Plains northern country and where the tribe was located.

A delightful and apparently authentic story of a Sioux Indian boy, Wi Sapa (Black Moon) whose life and adventures will please any boy and girl who likes to read about Indians and the early west. A good book to read aloud which parents will also enjoy. Recommended for ages 8 to 12. — S.B.M.

FLYING SNOWSHOES. By Evelyn Teal. (The Caxton Printers, Ltd., Caldwell, Idaho. 1957.) pp. 181. \$4.00. *Illustrated* by David Hunt, photos, maps on end papers.

Some years ago the reviewer attended the dedication of the large boulder at Carthay Circle Theatre and knew little about "Snowshoe Thompson," the subject of this book; hence, his delight upon getting the history of "Snowshoe's" life by Evelyn Teal. She is particularly able to write of him, for she lived in Nevada about twenty miles from Thompson's home and learned the full history of his life. For twenty years, Thompson, a native of Norway, carried the mail from Plaverville (old Hangtown) California to Genoa, Nevada on skis weighing about twenty pounds, which he himself made. The mail pouch on his back meant another 60 to 100 pounds. His schedule called for three days going and two days returning. The distance covered was ninety miles. Mrs. Teal tells this story

Book Reviews

in an easy narrative style from the days "Snowshoe" made his first skiis, through his mail trips, his adventures in the snows with the wild animals, the Winnemucca Revolt, the "jumpers" who drove him off his own property, the rescue of Lucky Baldwin and his party, his settling down to an agricultural life, his marriage and the birth of his son, Arthur, his mountain Ditch No. 1, his gold mining activity, and at last his death. — G.E.M.

THE OLD DUTCH BURYING GROUND OF SLEEPY HOLLOW IN NORTH TARRYTOWN, NEW YORK. (Privately Printed. 1953. Rand Press.) 175 pp. *Illustrated* map of old graveyard showing coordinate layout of graves attached to end paper. Index.

William Graves Perry, a Boston architect, became interested in this restoration and describes what was done to the stones. The book treats an unusual subject with almost scientific accuracy, giving the story on each stone and these descriptions are keyed to the map. Gives most interesting epitaphs. A complete record of 942 stones. — G.E.M.

THE HOPI INDIANS, by Harry C. James (Caxton Printers, Ltd., Caldwell, Idaho, 1956). Cloth bound, 236 pp., end-paper maps, *illustrated*, photographs; Foreword by F. W. Hodge. \$5.00.

When an author undertakes to write a book about a Western Indian Tribe, he chooses for himself a mighty task. Author James, in this work on the Hopi Indians, has creditably completed this undertaking, and he has brought forth an interesting, educational and informative addition to the history books of the West.

From the semi-arid desert land in Northeastern Arizona where the Hopi people dwell, the author has drawn forth the story of these ancient people. He traces their distant and unrecorded (except through linguistics, anthropology and tribal customs) relationships with the Aztecs, who dwelt far south in Mexico, and with peoples even more distant who may have come from the Orient.

These "People of Peace," who dwell on three high mesas in the Painted Desert country above the turbulent and treacherous Little Colorado River, have survived through the centuries although they have been subjected to great acts of violence both from the elements and from their fellow man. They dwell in a dozen or so villages, none of which has more than a few hundred people; they cultivate corn, potatoes, grain and tourists for a living. They were aided in developing their culture by the missionaries from Mexico and Spain, and their schools, religious practices, and rituals established then still survive.

When the railroads came West and the Grand Canyon became

the "grandest sight to see," the Painted Desert and the Hopi Indians were high on the sight-seeing list, too. During their annual ceremonials, when they chant to the sun, the moon and the stars, and when they dance to the snake, the turtle and the frog, they give the curious a slight insight into the life and times of the Hopi; but the book by Author James lifts the veil of mystery from these people and gives reason and meaning to their mode of life. The book is well-worth reading and is an excellent book for reference and source material. — L.L.M.

THE FIRST CALIFORNIA'S CHAPLAIN. By Brother V. Edmund McDevitt. (Academy Library Guild. 1956.) 259 pp. *illus.* \$4.75. Limited Edition.

This book brings to life the personality of Chaplain McKinnon from his boyhood on Prince Edward Island, through his San Francisco dock experiences to the end of his remarkable military career in the Philippines and his later administrative work in untangling the religious, social, and political problems incident to the annexation and administration of the Philippines by the United States after the war. The strange fate that pursued his monument and its final placement and acceptance in Golden Gate Park makes an interesting final note. — G.E.M.

OBSERVATIONS ON CALIFORNIA, 1772-1790. By Father Louis Sales, O.P., translated and edited by Charles N. Rudkin. (Glen Dawson. 1956. Printed by Westernlore Press.) 300 copies, pp. 218. Notes, bibliography, index. \$10.00.

To those interested in Indian customs and habits this book will afford good entertainment since it covers customs, religion, feasts, diseases, burials, the quack doctors (*curanderos*), sports, food, and habits. This book is in the form of three letters of a friar to a friend. The Jesuit Period, the Franciscan entry, the Dominican Period, the Nootka Affair, the author's journey to California and his homeward journey, and statistics of the missions of Lower California, seventeen in number, make up the book. — G.E.M.

VOYAGE OF THE VENUS: *Soujourn in California*. By Abel du Petit-Thouars. Translated by Charles N. Rudkin. (Glen Dawson, printed at the Plantin Press, 1956.) pp. 113. *Illustrated*, 1 map. \$10.00. This is XXXV in Early California Travel Series.

The Venus was a frigate of the French Navy under command of Capt. Abel du Petit-Thouars, which left Brest on December 29, 1836, for a voyage of scientific exploration of the Pacific Ocean, its coasts and islands to be of value to French foreign commerce. The captain headed first for Brazil, rounded Cape Horn, visited ports of the west coast of South America and arrived in 1837 at Monterey by way of Honolulu and Petropavlovsk. Staying about a month, he then coasted down Baja California to Mazatlan, then made a

Book Reviews

wandering voyage for nearly two years among the Pacific Islands. Costumes of both men and women in the upper classes and natives are shown, also, illustrations of squirrel, skunk, gull, and lynx cat taken at different points. The Alvarado Revolution is well described by an unbiased observer along with the whole political situation in Alta California, the social status of the population is made clear with definition of "gente de razon," "christianos," and "gentiles," all blending harmoniously to produce a fiesta at Monterey. A visit to Mission of San Carlos makes interesting reading. Observations at the Roadstead of Monterey, Notes on the Independent Natives of Alta California, and the trip from Monterey to Mazatlan (ended December 12, 1837) conclude the story.—G.E.M.

Activities of the Society

REMOVAL FROM EARL MANSION ON WILSHIRE BOULEVARD

The all important event of the summer months, after our trek to Lang Station on June 15, has been the removal of our headquarters, office and possessions, from the Earl Mansion on July 15 and 16, previous to the wrecking of the old house. Through the courtesy of our Director, Lorrin L. Morrison, printer of our *Quarterly*, who offered temporary space adjoining his printing plant at 1909 South Western Avenue, we moved *lock, stock and barrel* and set up our office with ample storage space for our library, state publications, back numbers of our own *Annals* and *Quarterlies*, gifts, maps, pictures and idle furniture which has been accumulating through the years. We can now see our whole problem more clearly and can plan to organize and catalog these materials for future use. Also, many items can now be properly displayed when we find permanent quarters. In repacking this entire collection we have run upon many items previously unknown to us. It is well that Director Morrison and the secretary have handled most of it as it makes two persons acquainted with what we have. A part of the collection has already been classified and its position noted in storage. The book and pamphlet collection is all inventoried and made ready for classification and cataloging. Pamphlets await later treatment.

* * * *

MEETING OF SEPTEMBER 10, 1957

President Arlt and the Board of Directors accepted the invitation of the *Los Angeles County Museum* to hold a joint meeting with the Museum Association at the museum on Tuesday, September 10. The Museum put on display its "*Historical Exhibit on Los Angeles from September 4, 1781, to September 9, 1950*," consisting of paintings, documents and realia selected from the collec-

tions of the museum and other cooperators. A reception and program sponsored by the *Museum Association* with the *Frederico Estrada Trio* providing appropriate music filled a pleasant evening, and about 100 of our members attended. A brief meeting was held with Dr. Arlt addressing us and outlining our new plans for the future. At the refreshment table, Mrs. Charles M. Masson and Mrs. Thomas Workman Temple presided.

Gifts to the Society

In each issue of *THE QUARTERLY* there appears a list of the donors and gifts made currently to the Society.

The Society is making an especial effort to build up its collection of historic materials, such as diaries, letters, account books, early newspapers, theatre and other programs, pictures of early-day life in California and costumes. We need your help.

Many members having treasured ancestral keepsakes were impelled to give them to the Society because of the realization that in private possession they would, sooner or later, disappear or deteriorate, whereas, in the custody of the Historical Society of Southern California they will be preserved indefinitely.

MARCO R. NEWMARK,
Chairman, Committee on Gifts and Bequests

SHERIFF EUGENE BISCAILUZ (at the request of Mrs. John C. Wolfskill)—*Souvenir menu program* of his complimentary dinner at the Beverly Hilton on his golden anniversary as a member of the sheriff's department (January 7, 1097) and his silver anniversary as sheriff (December 3, 1932.) A souvenir of real merit and of one of our members who has led a distinguished career.

HOMER D. CROTTY—"The Bench and Bar of the County of San Bernardino, State of California," by Hon. Jesse William Curtis. The speech delivered before a meeting of the San Bernardino County Bar Association held in the fall of 1956, which attracted most favorable attention, leading to its being printed in this pamphlet form, reviewing the history of San Bernardino County courts.

GUY E. MARION—A pamphlet entitled, "*Portiuncula: St. Mary of the Angels*" (near Assisi) Italy, by Rev. Fr. Bernardin Ibaldo O.F.M., 3rd illus. ed. rev., Price: *an alms for the church*. This little pamphlet was received from Mrs. Wadsworth Baylor of Santa Barbara, among other items about St. Francis. She had herself obtained it in Italy when visiting Assisi. It describes the portiuncula, its art treasures, its "Order of Friars Minor," and the various chapels and surrounding buildings in the neighborhood, the rose garden, the convent of San Damiano, where St. Clare lived and died, for whom the "Poor Clares" was named. Later, they moved to Santa Chiara, which is considered the "mother house of the Poor Clares." Le carceri "prison," about three miles from Assisi on Mount Subasio is also described. Here, St. Francis retired to be alone with God.

FREDERICK W. NELSON of Pasadena—A copy of the "*Anaheim Bulletin*," special 100th anniversary edition. Full of history and thoroughly illustrated about the City of Anaheim.

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

- MRC. C. A. HARTMAN—"Brief History of Columbia" an excerpt from the "Mother Lode Magazine" pages A to D. Contains directions for going to the Mother Lode with mileages shown from point to point also a map of Columbia with sites numbered and described and finally a brief sketch of "Black Bart," the retired school teacher who turned crook and preyed upon some 27 stage coaches between 1875 and 1883.
- JACK FARMAN, County Maintenance man at 2425 Wilshire Boulevard—*Food points* as used in the Second World War.
- JOSEPH P. LOEB, through the courtesy of Marco R. Newmark—a copy of "Bohemian Life" as seen by Idwal Jones published by Bohemian Distributing Company being Number 172 of August, 1957. Contains a touching biography of Phillip Townsend Hanna, its editor, by Pierson M. Hall. Number 172 closed the series of *Bohemian Life*.
- MISS ANITA WATSON—A wedding invitation of 1856, handwritten on embossed paper in which "Mr. & Mrs. Newmark request the pleasure of your company to celebrate the nuptials of their daughter Matilda to Mr. M. Kramer on April 9, 1856."

New Members

Twenty-seven new members have joined the Historical Society of Southern California during the last three months. The President and the Board of Directors take this opportunity to introduce the new members to the Society and to extend them a cordial welcome.

MRS. A. J. BOYLE
RAY BRANDES
HAROLD C. CHAMBERS
RALPH O. CHICK
F. THEODORE DEXTER
ARNOLD DOMINGUEZ
ALAN NORWOOD DUCOMMUN
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HAROLD OSWALD (*Life Member*)
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MRS. ELIZABETH RICHARD
MRS. RUFUS G. RODGERS
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of the
Historical Society of
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1909 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles 18, California

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available per set \$75.00

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nuals for 1895, 1924 or 1933,
which are out of print.

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December, 1957

Vol. XXXIX — No. 4

The

Historical Society of Southern California

QUARTERLY



— Photo from the Author's Collection

ROMUALDO PACHECO
Governor of California

(See "The Carrillos of San Diego" — page 371)

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA was organized in 1883, and has enjoyed a record of continuous activity for nearly three-quarters of a century: Commencing in 1886, and each year until 1935, the Society issued an Annual Publication. In 1935 the *Quarterly* was initiated. It is published each March, June, September and December.

It is the aim of the Editorial Board to make the *Quarterly* a publication of general historical interest. Suggestions and criticisms are always welcomed, and all persons, whether members of the Society or not, are invited to submit for the consideration of the editors original articles, old letters, documents, maps and other material bearing upon the history and development of this region.

The Society's Purposes and Objectives are:

- To sponsor and encourage observances of historic dates and anniversaries;
- To preserve and protect the archives and historic sites of the Southwest with particular stress on Southern California;
- To assist in the marking and restoration of landmarks which inspire interest and respect for events, persons and customs of the past;
- To promote activity in the conservation of public records, historical documents, newspapers, museum material and related Californiana;
- To preserve, as an aid to business and industry, business records, industrial and transportation history and the use of historic material in public relations;
- To encourage the increased use of history in the schools, to the end that there shall be developed a greater interest in, respect for, and loyalty to our American institutions;
- To publish material of permanent historic interest and significance;
- To assist and encourage all persons and organizations engaged in similar activities;
- To hold regular monthly meetings in Los Angeles (except during the summer months) at which persons of recognized authority in their respective subjects appear as guest speakers, followed by refreshments and a social hour;
- To gather at least once each year in a pilgrimage to some spot of historic significance.

This Society is a public non-profit corporation. The principal sources of revenue for its operations and maintenance are from membership dues, contributions and bequests. It renders a worthy public service and needs your support.

MEMBERSHIP CLASSIFICATIONS:

(Dues include one subscription to the QUARTERLY)

<i>Life Member</i>	\$200.00	<i>Sustaining Member</i>	\$ 25.00
<i>Patron Member</i>	100.00	<i>Active Member</i>	10.00

Membership dues and contributions to the Society are deductible for income tax purposes.

Articles, stories, books for review, and all material to appear in the QUARTERLY, and general society correspondence should be addressed to:

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA
GUY E. MARION, Executive Secretary
 1909 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles 18, California
 Telephone REpublic 4-2823

The
Historical Society of Southern California

QUARTERLY



— Rockwell D. Hunt Collection

HENRY MEADE BLAND

California Poet

(See "*Three California Poets of Pioneer Methodist Parentage*" — Page 321)

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The Historical Society of Southern California

FOUNDED NOVEMBER 1, 1883

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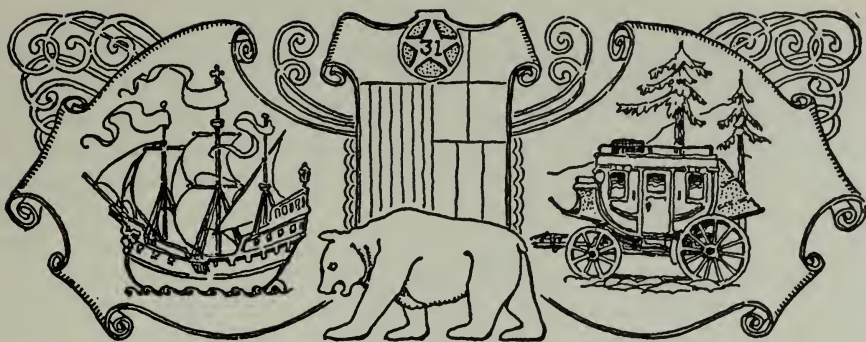
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The Historical Society of Southern California QUARTERLY for December, 1957

Three California Poets *of* Pioneer Methodist Parentage

By Rockwell D. Hunt

THREE BRIGHT STARS IN THE SPLENDID GALAXY of California poets were the children of pioneer California Methodist preachers—men of consecrated lives, though not of great wordly renown. The poets were Lillian Hinman (Mrs. Shuey, later Mrs. Bailey), Clarence Thomas Urmy, and Henry Meade Bland. A brief note about each of them must suffice.

Mr. Hinman was born in Oswego County, New York, in January, 1813. When he was a young man the family moved to what was then the frontier, in Illinois. In the year 1853 he migrated to California, where, a little later, he became a member of the newly organized Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. For three years following the Civil War he had a "supernumerary relation"; in 1877 he retired permanently from active service in the Conference. He died on the 4th of June, 1896. William S. Urmy was born in the village of Sing Sing, New York, in 1830. As a boy of fifteen he was converted at a camp-meeting. When he arrived in San Fran-

cisco he was twenty-two years old. He joined the old Powell Street Methodist Church; and under the guidance of Isaac Owen he was licensed to preach. In December, 1853 he delivered his first sermon. After a period of service as junior preacher, he became a regular member of the California Conference, and received appointments to various churches. For ten years he was Conference Secretary. In 1888 he was a delegate to the General Conference. From the University of the Pacific he received the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity. Some might call him a "shouting Methodist," for during his preaching he would often employ the full volume of his sonorous baritone voice, and could be heard a great distance. Several times as a youth I heard him preach.

Henry J. Bland was a brother of Adam Bland, a pioneer of 1851—who early became a prominent member of the Conference. Henry reached California in 1857, after serving several years in the Baltimore Conference. Among his preaching appointments was a circuit, one station of which was Freeport, near the city of Sacramento. There he preached bi-weekly in the little school-house where I was a pupil in the elementary grades: so, as a child I heard him preach; and more than once he called at our home. In 1885 he was superannuated, never having been appointed to any of the larger churches, but after long service as a faithful and devoted minister.

Of the wives of these pioneer preachers—mothers of the poets—little has been recorded except in the lives of their children. That they were dedicated mothers, women of sincere devotion, faithful and self-sacrificing to an extent seldom demanded in this day, we may be well assured. I would gratefully pay tribute to them, and to all those godly noblewomen and mothers of pioneer California.

It is of particular interest, though perhaps not to be accounted strange, that all three poets here considered were educated in California Methodist-controlled institutions. Lillian Hinman graduated from Napa Collegiate Institute (later Napa College) in 1875; three years later Clarence T. Urmy graduated from the same school. Henry Meade Bland graduated from the University of the Pacific, at San Jose, in 1887, and was awarded a doctorate there in 1890.

Almost inevitably, in each instance Methodist parentage and education in Methodist colleges strongly influenced the entire lives of the children: this influence, directly and indirectly, was reflected in the underlying nature of their poetic works. It is not difficult to illustrate this point by a perusal of their books. Take Lillian Hinman Shuey (later Mrs. Bailey). Her flair for poetry mani-

Three California Poets of Pioneer Methodist Parentage

fested itself even during her student days at Napa. After graduation she showed keen interest in the Alumni Association, contributing to the annual program more than once. "The Yesterdays and Tomorrows," printed in *The Napa Classic* (June, 1890), feelingly expresses the sentiment of such occasions. Here are three short stanzas:

*The sweet old days, the yesterdays,
I sing their songs once more;
We clasp old hands, we dream old dreams,
We tread the paths of yore.
Yes, we are glad, the yesterdays
That slipped so fast away,
Left in our hearts, dropped in our hands,
The manna of today.
Not all the gold from Tarshish brought
And from the new world riven,
Could buy from me the heavenly wealth
The yesterdays have given.*

A volume of her poems published in 1888 is titled *California Sunshine*—a happy title indeed for the poet who, in the appreciative words of Ella Sterling Mighels, "reveals picture and heart and soul of California as Mrs. Shuey sees it and feels it, and that with a true poet's eye."

*Let Christian thought be freed
Its sun-bright life to lead.
Turn face, great Oregon,
Give golden grace for grace,
With new-found worlds in sight,
For God, and home, and right,
To California give your warm, strong hand,
And drive the 'Golden Spike.'*

How Mrs. Shuey loved the towering redwood trees of Mendocino!

*A vast cathedral by the western sea,
Whose spires God set in majesty on high,
Peak after peak of forests to the sky.
Blended in one vast roof of greenery.
The high wind-voices chord the breakers' roar,
And wondrous harmonies of praise and prayer
Swell to the forest altars evermore.*

The final lines from "My Faith" furnish, I think, a true revelation of the creed of Lillian Hinman Shuey:

*Each pale, uncurtained star that shines for me
Will dawn resplendent in eternity;
And love with me shall rise, when fails this breath
To some high Heaven—such is my faith in death.*

Akin to this sentiment is that seen in her lines on "A Drop of Faith":

*Where rolls such living green the landscape o'er,
How could we faithless prove!
God has such a boundless love
That where He blesses He will bless the more:*

Also in "The Supreme Thought":

*And this is the thought that cheereth,
The thought that is all in all:
Though crowns and kingdoms shall tremble,
His promise will never fall.*

But as a native of the Golden State myself, nothing in all the poetry this devoted daughter of a pioneer preacher has written has greater appeal for me than her inimitable quatrain "California":

*Sown is the golden grain, planted the vines;
Fall swift, O loving rain, lift prayers, O pines;
O green land, O gold land, fair land by the sea,
The trust of thy children reposes in thee.*

Clarence Thomas Urmy was the first native Californian to publish a book of poems; and for this attractive volume he chose a fitting title, *A Rosary of Rhyme* (printed in San Francisco, 1884). But he had been writing verse years before that. Even before graduating from Napa Collegiate Institute in 1878 he had written for the *Orophilean Journal*, organ of the literary society. His poem "Memory" was read at the first annual reunion of the Alumni Association, May 29, 1879, then published in *The Napa Classic* in October of that year. His "*Ad Astra per Aspera*" (motto of the Orophilean Lyceum), was first read in November, 1880, then printed in *The Napa Classic* the following February. Here are the closing lines:

*A rough road to the stars! Some day
How short will seem the travelled way
How loud will swell the victor's song—
Press on, Oh heart, be brave! be strong!*

Among the numerous magazines to which Mr. Urmy contributed were: *Cosmopolitan*, *Overland Monthly*, *Century Magazine*, and *Munsey's*.

Clarence Urmy was by profession a musician, as a teacher of voice and an organist of recognized ability in Napa and in San Jose. His was an unusually sensitive soul; his poetry shows a delicacy of sentiment and a nicety of expression that seemed to set him in a place apart. Writing on "A Rose,"

Three California Poets of Pioneer Methodist Parentage

*As slight a thing as a rose may be
A stepping stone
Whereby some soul may step from earth
To love's high throne.*

"The Poet-Touch," appearing in his volume *A California Troubadour* (1912), reveals something of his fine moral sentiment:

*What is the poet-touch? Ah me, that every bard might gain it,
And having once attained the prize, forever might retain it:—
To touch no thing that's vile, unless to teach the world to scorn it,
To touch no thing that's beautiful, save only to adorn it.*

Still more clearly, perhaps, is the influence of early home life reflected in "The Things That Count":

*Not what we have, but what we use;
Not what we see, but what we choose—
These are the things that mar or bless
The sum of human happiness.*

With these concluding lines:

*Not what we take, but what we give;
Not what we pray, but what we live—
These are the things that make for peace,
Both now and after Time shall cease.*

As I came personally to know this poet-musician in my youth, I thought I sensed a slight strain of melancholy in his life. I see a slight reflection of this in his poem, "How Steep the Stairs." Note the last stanza:

*How steep the stairs that lead to God—
How steep the stairs!
For seeds that strive to pierce the sod,
For children smarting 'neath the rod,
For feet with sin and sorrow shod
How steep the stairs!*

"The Arrow" goes straight to the mark:

*Straight from a mighty bow this truth is driven:
They fail, and they alone, who have not striven.
High Heaven's evangel be, gospel God-given:
They fail, and they alone, who have not striven.*

One of Mr. Urmy's most delightful poems, I think, is his "California Skies." Note its joyous ending:

*Ah, none so blest
As one who weary of life's quest
In this fair meadow poppy-pillowed lies
Day-dreaming 'neath these California skies—
Balm for the eyes!*

Henry Meade Bland, second Poet Laureate of California, pro-

fessor in San Jose Normal School (now State College), dedicated his volume *Sierran Pan and Other Poems* to his own father, Henry James Bland. It was published in 1922. My treasured copy is inscribed by the author to me, "from his friend of many and many a day." Just below his autograph he wrote,

*No matter where the highway tends,
Be sure the Journey never ends.*

Then, quoting from his "In Yosemite," these characteristic lines:

*Is not this wonder infinite, and designed
To be the Emblem eternal of the Immortal Mind?*

In his brief Introduction to the volume Edwin Markham makes this avowal: "Mr. Bland touches various chords of poesy; . . . It is clear everywhere in these pages that he rejoices in the wild marshes, in the mountain trails, and in the free winds of our California, a land romantic and beautiful." A good illustration of the sentiment is found in the title poem, "Sierran Pan"; as note its closing stanzas:

*I'm the sigh of the south wind of autumn,
I'm the scent of the earth at first rain,
I'm the wild honker call of the earliest fall,
I'm the yellow of ripening grain.
I'm the music no singer has dreamed of,
I'm the joy in the heart of man;
I'm the lyric time of no poet's rhyme,
I'm the glad, the immortal Pan.*

Markham tells us he read Bland's poem on Yosemite "with keen interest. It contains some lines," he continues, "that have true beauty; other lines that are marches of mystic music." He pronounces it "the most elaborate poem ever written on the marvelous valley." It has a majestic sweep; its imagery captivating—its lines studded with brilliant gems.

*All the sweet harmonies of Eden-Time
Are here. The winds in summer melody,
The water-ousel song; the rippled rhyme
Of snow waters, and the minstrelsy
Of immemorial pine. Such harmony
Greek Homer played; on such a steep he sang
That time he fashioned white and joyously
The throne of Jove: for, as his music rang,
Straightway the temple of the gods in glory sprang.*

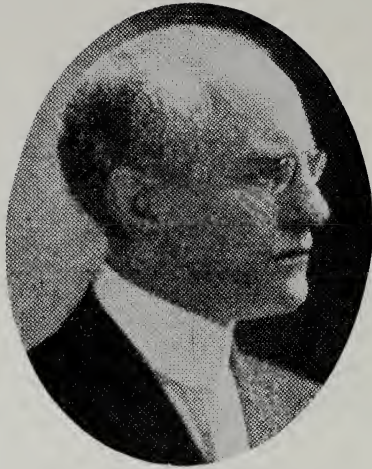
In "The Keeper of the Sheep" he thus rhapsodizes:

*'Tis great!—this life on the hills of time—
To follow the gleam and still endure,
To strive in joy for the High Sublime;
And know that the way of love is sure.*



— *Rockwell D. Hunt Collection*

LILLIAN HINMAN SHUEY



-- Rockwell D. Hunt Collection

CLARENCE THOMAS URMY

Three California Poets of Pioneer Methodist Parentage

On one occasion Henry Van Dyke wrote Henry Meade Bland: "You have remembered what so many people forgot, that Pan only can be seen out of doors in a real landscape. The concrete is of the essence of poetry."

In my own volume of *Sierran Pan* the friendly author folded in a typewritten copy of a poem of twelve stanzas, on "A Song of Songs," having written on the margin, "With many a memory." Here is the beginning of this tender Song:

*My soul is a harp on which I play
The merry tunes of yesterday:*

After running through a gamut of human sentiments as he strikes his harp, he sings, at length,

*It is the word of the Herald Angel,
The first high strain of the Great Evangel:
And my soul is the harp on which I play
That wonder-song of yesterday.
My soul is a harp: I touch the string,
And lo! the ages leap and sing!
The millions have come, and joyous gone,
And the Eden Dream goes on and on.*



California's First Impeachment, 1857

By Frank M. Stewart



CENTURY AGO IN A PERIOD OF BANK FAILURES, business speculation, and corruption in local and state governments, a new political party, the Know Nothings or American party, arose to challenge the Democrats in California. At a convention in Sacramento, August 7, 1855, the American party adopted a platform calling for stern opposition to corruption and fraud in high places, and for retrenchment and reform in civil administration. It declared that it would nominate for office only "men of high moral character and known habits of temperance." On September 5th the entire American ticket of executive officers was elected.¹ Party control of the Senate was small, but in the Assembly it was predominant.²

Although elected on a platform of reform, American officials did not carry out the party pledges. At the general election in November, 1856, the Democrats gained a majority in both houses of the Legislature.³ Investigations by legislative committees in 1857 resulted in the impeachment of Treasurer Henry Bates, the first impeachment in California.

Bates was born in Worcester County, Massachusetts, and graduated from the medical school of the University of Pennsylvania. Coming to California in 1847, he early settled in Shasta where he practiced his profession.⁴ In 1855, he served in the sixth session of the Assembly.⁵ He was a delegate from Shasta to the convention of the American party at Sacramento in August, 1855, and was nominated for the office of Treasurer of State. Taking office on January 7, 1856, he appointed E. A. Rowe chief clerk and cashier.⁶

INVESTIGATIONS BY THE LEGISLATURE

During 1856 news of the non-payment of interest on the State debt and rumors of irregularities in the handling of State funds aroused the public concern.⁷ In his message to the Legislature, January 7, 1857, Governor J. Neely Johnson commented on the critical financial condition of the State and the failure to pay the interest on the public debt.⁸ Action by the Legislature was prompt and comprehensive. Five committees, three of them joint committees of the Senate and Assembly, investigated and reported on different aspects of the operations of the Treasury.

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A joint committee to disclose the amount of coin and treasure in the Treasury made the count on January 13, 1857, and reported on January 16th.⁹ This report apparently satisfied the Assembly, but a few influential members questioned the facts upon which it was based.¹⁰ As a result of the debate, a select committee of three was appointed on January 16th and instructed to report concerning the alleged withdrawal of \$124,000 from the general fund to meet interest payment on the State debt in July, 1857. Also, it was to inquire regarding the default on the payment of interest on State bonds on July 1, 1856, and to report what action the State had taken to recover the sum withdrawn from the Treasury for that purpose. Its report, with testimony, was submitted on February 9th.¹¹

On January 16th, a joint committee was authorized to ascertain the amount of revenue paid into the Treasury for the year 1856; what amount in Controller's warrants was received; and if Controller's warrants were substituted for cash, by whom and by what authority such was done. A report was filed on February 11th.¹²

The failure of Palmer, Cook and Company to pay the interest on State bonds due on July 1, 1856, was the subject of a report by the Senate committee on public expenditures on January 24.¹³ By concurrent resolution the Assembly and Senate committees on public expenditures were constituted a joint committee to examine the accounts of the Controller and Treasurer and to report once a week to both houses.¹⁴

Referring to charges that moneys were being paid out illegally to subserve the interest of outsiders, Treasurer Bates, in a letter to the Legislature, January 21st, denied all such rumors and charges and called upon that body to investigate.¹⁵

IMPEACHMENT BY THE ASSEMBLY

The report of the select committee on February 9th created a profound sensation. A resolution was promptly offered in the Assembly to impeach the Treasurer for misdemeanors in office. A substitute was approved authorizing the Treasurer to present written or oral arguments relative to the charges before noon the following day. The Treasurer's reply on February 10th protested his innocence, requested the privilege of counsel and postponement to a later day because the time allowed was insufficient for explanation or defense. Many considered the reply of Dr. Bates discourteous and indiscreet. Refusing to delay, the Assembly on February 10th adopted a resolution impeaching Bates for misdemeanors in office by a vote of 61 to none. At the beginning of the legislative day on February 11th a committee of two members of the Assembly informed the Senate of the Assembly's action, and stated that the

Assembly would, in due time, present to the Senate particular articles of impeachment. A select committee of five was constituted to prepare the articles and to conduct the impeachment proceedings before the Senate.¹⁶

On February 11th, Bates unexpectedly submitted his resignation to the Governor, stating that he was unable to obtain the increase of his official bond as demanded by the district court. It was accepted immediately. Capitol comment was that the resignation was equivalent to a plea of guilty.¹⁷ Nomination of a successor to the Treasurer was sent by the Governor to the Senate on February 13th and was confirmed without delay.¹⁸ Hasty acceptance of the resignation by Governor Johnson was criticized by those who believed that the Treasurer should have been suspended and a temporary appointment made, pending termination of the impeachment proceedings.¹⁹ Such procedure was established by an act approved on February 10, 1857.²⁰

Eleven articles of impeachment were adopted by the Assembly on February 16th; three articles were added on the 18th; and the whole presented to the Senate by the committee of the Assembly on the same day.²¹

These articles state in legal phrases the principal facts about the transactions of the Treasurer during 1856, as developed by the committees of the Legislature after careful investigation and examination of many witnesses, including Bates and Rowe. They may be grouped under three general heads: (1) permitting E. A. Rowe, in the interest of himself and others, to withdraw moneys from the Treasury for use in their private business, with particular reference to an item of \$124,000, and efforts to conceal such illegal acts from public knowledge; (2) relating to the non-payment of interest on State debt, July 1, 1856; and (3) substitution of Controller's warrants, State warrants and other evidence of indebtedness for cash in the Treasury, by Rowe and others.

When the joint committee made the count of coin in the Treasury, on January 13th, it found there \$130,167.95. It noted that the Treasurer had already taken from the general fund \$124,000 to pay the semi-annual interest on State bonds due in New York on July 1, 1857. These two items convinced the committee that the Treasurer's accounts were good, according to the Controller's books. Withdrawal of the \$124,000 might be viewed as a commendable act to support the credit of the State, said the committee, but the premature action was regrettable because it deprived the State of the use of such a large sum for at least four months and imposed an unnecessary expense for exchange "at a time of great financial embarrassment."²²

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Testimony before the select committee of the Assembly revealed that the Treasurer had made a verbal and then a written contract with Wells, Fargo and Company to receive and pay the semi-annual interest on the State debt. He had requested release from this contract for the payment of the July, 1856, interest, which he had entrusted to Palmer, Cook and Company. On January 1, 1857, Rowe, then president and manager of the Pacific Express Company, tried to persuade Wells, Fargo and Company to give bond to pay the July, 1857, interest without receiving the funds. Two days after this was declined, a contract was made with the Pacific Express Company to forward the interest to New York. Entry was made in the cash book of the Treasury that the payment had been made to Wells, Fargo and Company on January 10th, and this was duly noted by the joint committee on the 13th. After the newspapers published the bond given by the Pacific Express Company to the Treasurer, the words "Wells, Fargo and Co." were erased and the words "Pacific Express" written over the erasure.

These maneuvers were designed to screen a stupendous fraud. The alleged payment of \$124,000 to Rowe on January 3rd was a pretense; no remittance was sent to New York. The bond of the Pacific Express Company, an ephemeral concern, was not submitted to and approved by the Governor, as required by law. Early convening of the Legislature made these desperate moves necessary to conceal a deficit in the Treasury due to the withdrawal of large sums which were used by Rowe and others in their private business.

Persistent examination of Rowe by the committee produced no information as to what he had done with the moneys taken from the Treasury. In exasperation the committee posed this question: "How a clerk in the Treasurer's office, with no fortune and no credit, became possessed of such large sums of money, and gained such an influence over his employer as to induce him to violate his official contract with Wells, Fargo and Co., and confer on himself a trust which no faithful officer would confide to any but the most responsible character?" It was the committee's surmise that a good portion of the money had been lost in speculations with the bankrupt firm of Palmer, Cook and Company.²³

In order to conceal the deficiency in the Treasury when the count was made on January 13th, it was reported by the committee that Bates and Rowe secured the temporary transfer to the Treasury from local banks of sufficient funds to balance the accounts. Within a few days after the legislative inspection the loans were returned.²⁴

Other charges related to the non-payment of interest on State

bonds due July 1, 1856. On April 7th the Treasurer, without order or warrant of the Controller, paid to Palmer, Cook and Company the sum of \$88,520 to meet the interest and exchange charges, taking a bond for this amount from the banking house to guarantee performance. About August 15th it became known that the financial agents had failed to carry out the contract to pay the interest. Through Wells, Fargo and Company the Treasurer then remitted funds to pay the July interest. A draft for \$15,000 upon the agents of Palmer, Cook and Company in New York was honored. Another bond for \$73,500 was then demanded by the Treasurer and executed by Palmer, Cook and Company. Neither bond was presented to and approved by the Governor as required by law. The payment thus became the private act of the Treasurer, beyond the scope of his official duty.

Further, it was charged that the Treasurer took no action against the defaulting bankers although the Governor urged him to bring suit. Finally, the Governor secured the bonds and had suit entered upon them on January 2, 1857. The loss to the State made the Treasurer a defaulter to that amount.²⁵

Several of the impeachment articles charged: (1) that the Treasurer purchased for himself and permitted others to purchase State warrants, Controller's warrants, and State scrip with the coin of the State; (2) that, combining with W. S. Hughson (a clerk in the Controller's office), Rowe and others, he received from county treasurers large amounts of money which he appropriated to his own use and substituted Controller's warrants for such moneys in the Treasury and then redeemed such warrants; and (3) that he permitted Rowe and Hughson to purchase State warrants and other evidences against the State and to substitute such for cash in the Treasury. All of this was done, it was charged, willfully and knowingly for his and their use and benefit, with intent to cheat and defraud the Treasury, and against the express provisions of law.²⁶

TRIAL BEFORE THE SENATE

In preparation for the impeachment trial, the Senate adopted rules for the conduct of the proceedings and fixed March 5th for the beginning of the trial.²⁷ The secretary of the Senate administered the oath to the president, and he, in turn, to the senators present. By order of the president, the sergeant-at-arms proclaimed that the High Court of Impeachment was in session. After the secretary informed the Assembly that the Court was ready to proceed, the managers for the Assembly entered with the Attorney General. Henry Bates, the defendant, was called to the bar of the Senate; he appeared with three counsel.²⁸

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Through counsel the defendant challenged the jurisdiction of the Court, alleging that he had resigned as Treasurer and was a private citizen and not an officer of the State when he was impeached before the Senate, nor at the time when the articles of impeachment, as adopted by the Assembly, were presented to the Senate, nor at the time when the articles of impeachment were prepared and adopted by the Assembly. Also counsel pleaded that two indictments had been found against him by the grand jury of Sacramento County for the same offenses charged in the articles of impeachment, and he should not be twice put in jeopardy.²⁹

The Assembly managers, on March 6 replied that Bates was Treasurer at the time he was impeached, and if he had been indicted as alleged, the indictments were found after the articles were presented to the Senate. Defendant cannot do anything which would divest the Senate of jurisdiction. They demanded that his plea be rejected and that he be compelled to answer the articles of impeachment.

To this, defense counsel filed on the same day a plea which claimed that the allegations in defendant's answer which were not denied in the Assembly's reply were sufficient to show that the Court had no jurisdiction.³⁰

Arguments of managers and counsel on the question of jurisdiction and other issues of law continued for another three days.³¹ During the debate the prosecution thundered:

The Assembly have impeached Henry Bates of high political crimes. They have impeached him in the name of religion and morality, whose obligations he has violated; in the name of the laws and the Constitution, whose provisions he has set at naught; in the name of the trust he has violated, and the position and office he has desecrated . . . They have impeached him in the name of the majesty of the people of this State, . . . whose national character he has injured beyond redemption.

With equal eloquence and force counsel pleaded for justice to the defendant whom they described as one "stripped of his power, thrown in the very dust, despoiled of the robes of office, an unfortunate, dejected, almost friendless man, . . . not within the circle of your jurisdiction, . . . below the level of your vengeance."³²

But the senators were not convinced by the pleas of the defendant's counsel. On March 11th the Court overruled the objections made by Bates and he was ordered to answer the articles of impeachment the following day.³³ At that time he declined to plead, protesting against the jurisdiction of the Court and the sufficiency of the articles of impeachment. A secret session of the Court found Bates guilty by a vote of 32 to 1. The judgment of

the Court recited the conviction on the charges, declared that Bates had resigned after his impeachment by the Assembly, and decreed that he should forever be disqualified from holding any office of trust, honor or profit under the State. This was adopted by a vote of 30 to 3. In open session the judgment was formally announced and adopted by a unanimous vote.³⁴

Important precedents in the law and procedure of impeachment were established by the judgment of the Court. First, a constitutional official subject to impeachment, cannot escape the jurisdiction of the Court of Impeachment by an eleventh hour resignation. Second, an official is impeached when the Assembly adopts a resolution of impeachment and the Senate is officially notified of its action. Senate jurisdiction begins at this point. Drafting of the formal articles of impeachment by the Assembly and their presentation to the Senate may come later. Finally, an indictment in a criminal court is no bar to proceedings in a court of impeachment.

PROSECUTION OF BATES AND ROWE

Three indictments for embezzlement against Bates were brought by the grand jury of Sacramento County. On the first trial at Sacramento in November, 1857, the jury was unable to agree, and change of venue to Placer County was arranged. At Auburn, Bates was acquitted on the first indictment in February, 1858, and soon thereafter the other cases were dismissed.³⁵

In this drama of peculation the villain was Rowe, boyhood companion and friend of Bates. In the Assembly of 1855 he earned the reputation of being a "conceited coxcomb" with less than mediocre talents. At the American party convention in August, 1855, he was candidate for nomination as Controller, strongly supported by Bates. Failing to secure this, he worked for the nomination of Bates and was later appointed to a responsible position in the Treasury.³⁶

During the investigations of the affairs of the Treasury, Rowe was questioned by the grand jury, the trial courts and various legislative committees. They sought to secure from him information regarding the use he had made of large amounts of money illegally withdrawn from the Treasury, in particular the sum of \$124,000. Because of his refusal to answer certain questions before the grand jury and the trial courts, he was imprisoned for contempt of court.³⁷ Released on appeal to the Supreme Court he was rearrested and spent about a year in jail.³⁸ But he never made an acceptable explanation of what he had done with the moneys. His memory failed or he refused to answer, pleading the private nature

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of his financial operations. Having given bond for the payment of the \$124,000, he considered it his private property.³⁹

For his speculation with State funds and for his defiance of the courts and the Legislature, Rowe was bitterly denounced by the press as "a smooth-faced scoundrel," a "base miscreant," and a "thrice damned" villain. One frustrated editor half seriously deplored that physical methods, used in former times, could not be employed to wring the truth from him.⁴⁰

EFFORTS TO RECOVER THE LOSS TO THE TREASURY

What was the total financial loss to the State from the Treasury operations above described? From the court records and reports of legislative investigations it can be estimated that the loss was, in round numbers, \$246,000. Cost of the impeachment trial was estimated at \$15,000.⁴¹

A second important question was this: What was done by the State to recover all or any part of this large sum? A civil suit brought in the district court of Sacramento County against Bates and his sureties on his official bond of \$100,000 resulted in a jury verdict on September 30, 1857, in favor of the State for the full amount of the bond.⁴² In the same court on January 30, 1857, the Attorney General, in accordance with a concurrent resolution of the Legislature, commenced proceedings against Bates to give additional bonds. The court ordered the Treasurer to file bond for \$200,000 within ten days.⁴³ Unable to comply, Bates resigned on February 11th.

Two civil actions were instituted, January 2nd, in the district court of Sacramento County, against Palmer, Cook and Company on the bonds given to the Treasurer for the payment of the interest on the State debt on July 1, 1856. On May 14, 1857, in both cases, judgment was rendered for the plaintiff for \$72,957.50 with interest at the rate of ten per cent from January 2, 1857, until paid. This judgment was credited with \$1553.59 on May 19, 1857, the sole recovery from all the court actions. A similar suit in the same court was begun on July 31, 1857, against the Pacific Express Company on the bond of \$124,000, for failure to pay the interest due on State bonds, July 1, 1857. The Attorney General reported in 1858 that a change of venue to San Francisco County had been made, but no trial had yet been had.⁴⁴

Governor Johnson, the Treasurer, the Attorney General and the district attorney of Sacramento County attempted in October, 1857, to work out a settlement of the civil suits with the parties concerned. The State was to receive from Palmer, Cook and Company real

estate valued at \$235,000; the actual cash value to be determined by a board of appraisers. Bates and Rowe were to be released from further prosecution. Such a compromise was to be subject to the approval of the Legislature. But the deal failed because the real estate appraisal was rejected by the Governor as unsatisfactory to the State.⁴⁵

By an act of the Legislature approved April 26, 1858, a board consisting of the Governor, Controller and Treasurer, was authorized to settle and adjust the judgment for \$100,000 against Bates and his sureties.⁴⁶ In his annual message to the Legislature in January, 1859, Governor Weller reported that the board had found the sureties insolvent, that practically nothing could be recovered, and that it had abandoned all hope of effecting a settlement.⁴⁷ Similar conclusions were reached by the Senate committee on finance in favorably reporting a bill to release the sureties on the official bond of Bates. No amount of money could be secured to equal the legal expenses involved, and the public welfare would not be promoted by "an unnecessary and unprofitable sacrifice and ruin of any of the citizens of the State." Release of the sureties was justified by political and moral right and abundant precedent.⁴⁸ Opponents asked what had happened to the property of the sureties and pointed out that a release would place the loss upon the taxpayers. Passage of the bill would establish a bad policy.⁴⁹ Nevertheless, the bill was passed by both houses of the Legislature and became law on March 21, 1859, without the Governor's signature.⁵⁰

Encouraged by this, other sureties also pleaded for release. Signers of the Pacific Express Company bond for \$124,000 had been sued but no judgment against them had been obtained. Early in the 1860 session of the Legislature they petitioned for release from all obligations under the bond. The judiciary committees of the Senate and Assembly reviewed previous legislative investigations and testimony regarding the circumstances connected with the execution of the bond, as well as the legal defenses presented, and concluded that the State had no legal right to recover. They recommended release of the sureties and a measure for that purpose was approved on February 7, 1860.⁵¹

Sureties on the two bonds given to the Treasurer by Palmer, Cook and Company also presented a memorial for relief. Pursuant to an act, approved April 18, 1860, the two judgments in favor of the State, obtained on May 14, 1857, were released and discharged.⁵²

Thus, despite the efforts of the legislative, judicial and executive branches of the government, only an insignificant amount was recovered and the taxpayers suffered a loss of approximately a quar-

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ter of a million dollars, a large amount for a young State struggling to maintain its credit.

CONCLUSION

Bates was the unfortunate victim of designing men who wished to use public funds in their business speculations. They arranged his nomination and installed one of their group, Rowe, in the Treasury. The amiable young physician of excellent reputation and professional promise, with no desire for public office and no experience in financial matters, became the unwitting instrument for a giant conspiracy to loot the Treasury. Apparently Bates had complete confidence in the promises of Rowe and his associates (reported to be Palmer, Cook and Company) that the moneys would be returned to the Treasury when required. Too late he discovered his mistakes and found himself utterly ruined.⁵³

Betrayed by his friends, harassed by civil suits and criminal prosecution, impeached and perpetually disqualified from holding office, he was a pathetic figure and the object of some sympathy from the press and his legislative critics. The Assembly select committee, which first investigated the Treasury, said of the explanations of Bates and Rowe: "Their efforts to extricate themselves from the unfortunate dilemma in which the proofs place them, excite emotions of pity, so strong as to overcome any feelings of indignation which the fraudulent nature of the transactions are calculated to produce."⁵⁴ Reviewing the Bates case, the *Bee* commented editorially: "We have seldom seen a sadder spectacle than this."⁵⁵ And Shuck declared: "It is due to the memory of the unfortunate Treasurer to say that it did not appear that he had personally profited a cent by his defalcations, . . ."⁵⁶ The *Union*, in its editorial survey of the case, concluded: "It is generally believed that the ex-Treasurer is poor . . . that he has not profited much himself."⁵⁷

The press was disappointed that Bates did not present a defense to the impeachment, where the names of the despoilers of the Treasury might have been exposed. He was urged to confess everything and throw himself upon the clemency of the public. His failure to do so was attributed by one newspaper to "influences of a most powerful character."⁵⁸ Conviction of the Treasurer was cited approvingly by the San Francisco *Bulletin* as "one instance . . . of prompt and severe punishment of official crime."⁵⁹

Was Bates the victim of partisan warfare? The facts do not support this conclusion. It is true that both houses of the Legislature were controlled by the opposition party. But the evidence of

malfeasance was so overwhelming and the defense and the conduct of the Treasurer so weak as to preclude any judgment other than conviction. Under State law his refusal to plead to the charges before the Court of Impeachment made a verdict of guilty mandatory.⁶⁰

Among generally fair editorial comments, only one partisan note was observed. After the resignation of Bates, the *Democratic State Journal* rejoiced at the downfall of the corrupt, "the secret, model reform, Know Nothing conspiracy."⁶¹

On another important aspect of these proceedings, the recovery from the bondsmen, newspaper comment was meager. Critical of the current system of bonding public officials, the *Union* asked: "How often have any of us heard of a bond made good by personal security being collected by law? . . ."⁶² Demanding that the Treasury losses be made good by the sureties, the *Bee* warned: "It seems as though every opportunity were being offered to those bondsmen to put their property out of their hands, and to escape the responsibility with which they are encumbered."⁶³

Within three years after the exciting impeachment proceedings, bills for the release of all sureties were quietly approved. Apparently their passage aroused little public opposition or critical newspaper editorials. One may wonder whether the powerful influences which persuaded the Treasurer to resign and not stand trial were responsible, in part, for the lenient treatment by the Legislature of those who had pledged their names and fortunes to insure the State against loss.

NOTES:

1. T. H. Hittell, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1885-1897), III, 423-471, IV, 173-176; W. J. Davis, *History of Political Conventions in California, 1849-1892* (Sacramento, 1893), 42-44, 49-50; Peyton Hurt, "The Rise and Fall of the 'Know Nothings' in California," *QUARTERLY of the California Historical Society*, IX, 111-117 (1930).
2. In 1856, there were, in the Senate, 16 Americans, 16 Democrats, 1 Whig; in the Assembly, 56 Americans, 23 Democrats, 1 Independent. *California Blue Book*, 1909, p. 562.
3. In 1857, there were, in the Senate, 19 Democrats, 11 Americans, 3 Republicans; in the Assembly, 61 Democrats, 8 Americans, and 11 Republicans. *California Blue Book*, 1909, p. 562.
4. San Francisco *Alta California*, Aug. 13, 1855; Julian Dana, *Sutter of California, A Biography* (New York, 1934), pp. 265 ff.
5. *California Blue Book*, 1909, p. 596.
6. San Francisco *Alta*, Feb. 25, 1858.
7. H. H. Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1882-1890), VI, 615-619.
8. *Assembly Journal*, 8th sess., 26-34 (1857).
9. *Ibid.*, 88, 127, 130-132; *Senate Journal*, 8th sess., 100, 117-120 (1857).
10. O. T. Shuck, *Bench and Bar in California* (San Francisco, 1887), I, 107.
11. *Assembly Journal*, 8th sess., 132, 255, 288 (1857).
12. *Ibid.*, 135, 145, 309-311; *Senate Journal*, 8th sess., 113, 239-241 (1857).
13. *Senate Journal*, 8th sess., 128, 133, 142-143 (1857).
14. *Ibid.*, 134, 146-147, 149-150; *Assembly Journal*, 8th sess., 169, 183-188, 219, 314-315, 471-475, 627-632 (1857).

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15. *Assembly Journal*, 8th sess., 148 (1857).
16. *Ibid.*, 255-288, 289, 292-293, 305-306; *Senate Journal*, 8th sess., 238 (1857); *Sacramento Union*, Feb. 10, 11, 1857.
17. *Sacramento Bee*, Feb. 12, 1857; *Sacramento Union*, Feb. 10, 12, 1857; *San Francisco Herald*, Feb. 13, 1857.
18. *Senate Journal*, 8th sess., 267 (1857).
19. *Sacramento Bee*, March 6, 1857.
20. *Cal. Stats.*, 1857, pp. 17-18.
21. *Assembly Journal*, 8th sess., 324-330, 340, 341-342 (1857); *Senate Journal*, 8th sess., 238, 296, 297-303 (1857); State Archives, Secretary of State.
22. *Assembly Journal*, 8th sess., 130-132 (1857).
23. *Ibid.*, 255-261.
24. *Ibid.*, 259-260.
25. *Ibid.*, 255-257; *Senate Journal*, 8th sess., 142-143 (1857).
26. *Assembly Journal*, 8th sess., 309-311, 325-326 (1857).
27. *Senate Journal*, 8th sess., 303, 313-316, 317, 404-405 (1857).
28. *Ibid.*, 406-407.
29. *Ibid.*, 408-410.
30. *Ibid.*, 424-425.
31. *Ibid.*, 447-448, 451-452; *Sacramento Union*, March 9, 10, 11, 1857.
32. *Sacramento Union*, March 10, 1857.
33. *Senate Journal*, 8th sess., 456-457 (1857).
34. *Ibid.*, 462-465.
35. *Annual Report of the Attorney General for 1858*, p. 18 (*In Appendix to Assembly Journals*, 10th sess., 1859); *San Francisco Alta*, Nov. 25, 26, Dec. 2, 1857, Feb. 22, 1858; *Sacramento Union*, March 4, 1858.
36. *San Francisco Alta*, Feb. 25 1858.
37. *San Francisco Post*, June 17, 1882; *Sacramento Union*, Feb. 23, 24, 1858, Jan. 12, 1860; *San Francisco Alta*, Feb. 25, 1858.
38. *Ex Parte Rowe on Habeas Corpus*, 7 Cal., 175-181, 181-184, 184-185 (1857).
39. An Assembly committee, appointed March 16th, examined Bates, Rowe and others regarding the disposition of certain moneys illegally paid from the Treasury, but could obtain no definite information. *Assembly Journal*, 8th sess., 548-549, 552, 679, 680-682, 687, 804-807 (1857).
40. *Sacramento Bee*, March 14, 27, 1857.
41. *Ibid.*, March 13, 1857.
42. Records of County Clerk, Sacramento; *San Francisco Alta*, Oct. 1, 2, 1857.
43. *San Francisco Bulletin*, Feb. 6, 7, 1857; *Sacramento Union*, Jan. 31, Feb. 10, 1857.
44. *Annual Report of the Attorney General for 1858*, p. 21.
45. *Senate Journal*, 9th sess., 21 (1858); *San Francisco Alta*, Oct 21, 22, 29, 1857.
46. *Cal. Stats.*, 1858, pp. 316-317.
47. *Assembly Journal*, 10th sess., 31 (1859).
48. *Senate Journal*, 10th sess., 312-313 (1859). The *San Francisco Call*, Feb. 27, 1859, said that the State had expended some \$5,000 to obtain the judgments.
49. *Sacramento Union*, Feb. 26, 1859; *Sacramento Bee*, March 3, 1859.
50. *Cal. Stats.*, 1859, p. 120.
51. *Cal. Stats.*, 1860, pp. 15-16; *Sacramento Union*, Jan. 12, 1860; *Senate Journal*, 11th sess., 116, 220-226 (1860); *Assembly Journal*, 11th sess., 123-124, 243-248 (1860).
52. *Cal. Stats.*, 1860, p. 207.
53. *San Francisco Alta*, Feb. 25, 1858; Shuck, *op. cit.*, 108-109. Dr. Bates died in San Francisco, November 18, 1862; age about thirty-eight. (*San Francisco Alta*, Nov. 19, 1862).
54. *Assembly Journal*, 8th sess., 259 (1857).
55. *Sacramento Bee*, March 14, 1857.
56. Shuck, *op. cit.*, 108.
57. *Sacramento Union*, March 13, 1857.
58. *Sacramento Bee*, March 14, 1857; *Sacramento Union*, March 13, 1857.
59. *San Francisco Bulletin*, March 13, 1857.
60. *Cal. Stats.*, 1851, p. 218.
61. *Democratic State Journal*, Feb. 12, 1857.
62. *Sacramento Union*, Jan. 21, 1857.
63. *Sacramento Bee*, March 17, 1857.

The Legislature of a Thousand Scandals

By Alexander Callow, Jr.

MARTIN KELLY, A CRAGGY HULK OF A MAN, almost a caricature of a saloon boss—cocked derby hat, the inevitable cigar, the well-fed paunch—recalled the state legislature of 1891 as the embodiment of the lush days of bossism in California. With more affection than anger, the former boss of San Francisco characterized the legislature as “one of the worst lots of double-crossing crooks ever gathered together in one place since God created man.”¹ With more anger than affection, a newspaperman said the legislature compelled the man in the moon to hold his nose when he passed the state capitol in his orbit.² With anger and frustration, a reformer said the legislature would not pass the Lord’s Prayer unless it was accompanied by a sizeable bribe.³ The saloon boss, the newspaper man, and the reformer, could at least agree on one thing: the legislature of 1891 earned its epithet of the Legislature of a Thousand Scandals.⁴

Perhaps it is fitting that the statesmen of 1891 composed the most corrupt legislature of their time. This singular distinction was their’s not because they used bribery to defy Lincoln’s dictum that the ballot was stronger than the bullet, nor because they broke Simon Cameron’s commandment that an honest politician stays bought, but because they were the most energetic members of a political order which made corruption a way of life. Their political engine was run on the crude gas of hard cash; their deeds qualified them more for the rogues’ gallery than for public office. Yet this brand of politics did not distinguish California as the bawdy lady of the Republic. Corruption was not only a familiar tale in many states, but it was reflection of a broader phenomenon that was causing painful disruptions in American life.

San Francisco was a mosaic of the greater West: the boom of Chicago, the raucousness of Dodge, the polish of St. Louis.⁵ The Legislature of a Thousand Scandals was the product of the grow-

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ing pains of a great city, and the economic spree unleashed by the Civil War. Exploitation of natural resources and monopolization of special privilege gave rise to a political order in which the business community played a significant role. At Fourth and Townsend, stood an awesome structure known as the "Yellow Building," which cast its shadow on the city, reminding it that always behind the financial and political scene was the Southern Pacific railroad. That well-intentioned plan for good government, the Constitution of 1879, was rendered unenforceable by such princes of boodledom as Richard Chute, the perfumed fop who sold his talents as a vote broker; or Stephen T. Gage, the railroad's representative in the "third house"; or that master of guile, Louis L. Bromwell, who as a lobbyist for the insurance interests, was "one of the most genial and lovable men who ever bought a vote He was so capable an entertainer that he wooed his guests from thoughts of graft to the extent that they often sold themselves for one half the standard price."⁶

From the Civil War to the 1890s, an era paced by an intense economic excitement not conducive to governmental restraint, a city had grown beyond the reach of responsible city officials. The *de facto* government of San Francisco came not from city hall but from a place thickened by smoke and the Irish brogue. The commander of the city's political forces was the saloon boss, who substituted a glass of whiskey for the swagger stick. He named his "bum vivants" (as "Mr. Dooley" called them) as city officials, led his "rockrollers" against enemy voting booths, and controlled the powerful San Francisco delegation in the state legislature.

The saloon boss came in all manners of men: dignified—Bill Higgins, who wore a stove-pipe hat with an air and, it was rumored, could conjugate the Greek verb;⁷ smooth—Chris Buckley, whose blind eyes gave him a deceiving expression of innocence;⁸ brash—Martin Kelly, who looked like a Turkish potentate about to order an execution;⁹ furtive—Phil Crimmins, who, the reformers said, had all the attributes of a wharf rat.

From an industrial revolution and a city coming of age, came the two figures of the businessman and the saloon boss, who formed an alliance that dominated California for many years by making the state legislature their privately owned club. The businessman's gold bought protection and special favors from the city bosses. If this was an age which one writer has called "the reign of King Mazuma," the knights of the king probably never stalked so majestically and unopposed through the halls of the state capital as they did in 1891.

The legislature was born in scandal and it ended in scandal. It began when Leland Stanford won the renomination to the United States Senate by using the precautionary measure of dispensing a reported \$1,500,000 of bribes to his electors, the state legislature.¹⁰ It ended in a manner that one newspaper described as "the wildest and most disgraceful of any on record in the annals of the state."¹¹ From January 5th to March 25th, the legislature performed many robust feats of graft. The counties of Glenn and Riverside had to buy their way into existence.¹² A group of state senators formed a combine and sold their votes for an estimated \$160,000.¹³ Progress and graft were twin brothers when it came to civic improvement. It took several thousands of dollars to influence certain legislators that the electric trolley lines would improve San Francisco.¹⁴ But the scandals which best demonstrate the character and zest of the legislature are probably these three. For a comedy of errors, the Wastepaper Basket scandal; for an attitude of the public-be-damned, the Bruner scandal; for the legislature's gift to posterity, the Coyote scandal.

The Wastepaper Basket affair began on the morning of March 17th, when Morris M. Estee strolled jauntily into the state library—"that shrine of good literature and pure politics"¹⁵ to find the librarian, W. S. Leake, examining some scraps of paper he had taken from the wastepaper basket. The scraps contained fifteen money bands which had once held \$500 each, and an arithmetical calculation on how \$7,500 could be split fourteen ways. Estee became suspicious with good reason.

A few days before, George Hearst, the incumbent United States Senator, had died. The ensuing struggle for the vacant seat had the usual California flavor: each of the four candidates accused the other of being backed by the railroad. On March 16, the fight for nomination had narrowed down to two men, Charles Felton, the banker, and Morris Estee. If some observers are to be believed, the struggle was entirely nonpartisan, the motive—plunder. The fact that neither party held a caucus to nominate a candidate suggested to some cynics that the legislators were holding themselves open to the highest bidder.

To Estee, as he examined the scraps of paper, the possibility of dirty play seemed confirmed, especially when he was told that the only persons who had been in the library that morning were Henry Dibble, the floor leader of the assembly, and Assemblyman Marion. Knowing Dibble as "a skilled parliamentarian, a brilliant speaker, a companionable, charming crook,"¹⁶ Estee concluded that Dibble had bribed enough legislators to defeat his election to the United



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CARTOON PUBLISHED IN SAN FRANCISCO EXAMINER,
OCTOBER 11, 1891

States Senate on the morrow. Unfortunately for Estee, this conclusion was disastrously incorrect. As Boss Kelly points out in a classic revelation of the old political order: Estee should have known that to pay-off a statesman of '91 *before* the deed was done, was to insure a double-cross.¹⁷

When he heard later that day that Estee had evidence that would put him in the limelight of scandal, Dibble's hand "instinctively" reached for his memorandum book. It was gone. The little book kept a detailed account of every adventure in graft in which Dibble and his colleagues had participated. In short, it had enough information to send half the legislature to jail.¹⁸ Now all was confusion. Thinking that Estee had found his notebook, Dibble pleaded for mercy and promised him the election if only he would withhold the charges. Estee made his second mistake and refused. Dibble was forced to fight.

A boodler at bay can show remarkable political skill. On the next day, invoking all his talents, Dibble managed to stalemate the first ballot and adjourn. Estee decided to play his ace. That night he revealed the nature of his evidence. To his astonishment the

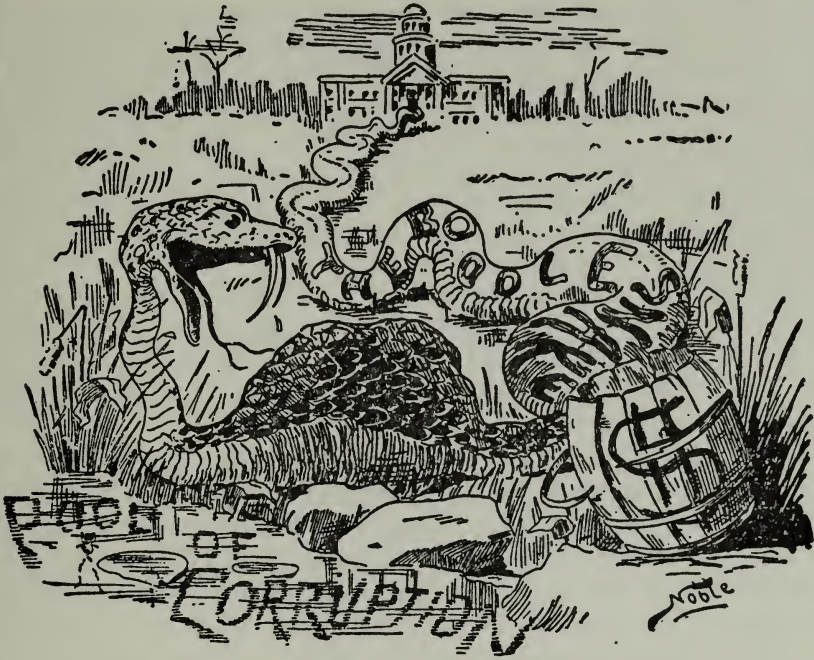
disclosure was greeted with "loud guffaws of mingled scorn and relief." Realizing that the notebook was not involved and that the paper scraps really proved nothing, Dibble and company nudged Estee's "evidence" into the wide sweep of the boomerang. Estee was accused of the most dreadful of deeds, that of attempting to blackmail and tarnish the honor of the legislature in order to achieve the senatorship.

On the next day it was all over, thanks to Martin Kelly's finesse in playing an ace that worked. Supplied with ample funds by a Felton supporter, the saloon boss found sixteen assemblymen who were willing to sell their vote for \$1,000 each. "I had a hunch," he said, "that lack of money would force these excellent sheep to herd with the godless goats before the session ended."¹⁹ The balloting became a stampede for Felton, and his opponent was forced to live up to his nickname of Much Mentioned Estee.

Ironically, it was never determined what act of chicanery those famous scraps of paper represented.²⁰ As for Henry Dibble's notebook, it was found under the sofa by his housekeeper, where it had fallen when he had collapsed after a night of festivities in Sacramento.

If there was one law running through California political history, it was the inability of the San Francisco police force to remain free from scandal. Shortly after a bill was passed creating 200 new jobs on the San Francisco police force, an enterprising reporter named James Stillwell, discovered that a notorious pair of "rockrollers," Dan and Louis Jones, were offering to sell the police jobs to any interested parties. Stillwell contacted the Jones brothers and pretended that his brother "Thomas Stoley" (a fictional person) would like to buy his way into the police department. He was told to send a \$400 check to the contact man in Sacramento, a Dick Belau, and arrangements would be made with the higher politicians. Soon thereafter, Stillwell received a letter addressed to the police commissioners of San Francisco, recommending the appointment of one Thomas Stoley, "a man of good habits, a thorough Republican," to the police department.²¹ The letter was signed by Assemblyman Elwood Bruner. This was interesting because it was he who was largely responsible for getting the bill for an enlarged police force through the legislature.

The *Examiner's* scoop caused such public outrage that the legislature was forced to act. The wheezing, creaking, locomotion of the investigation committee began, as one newspaper quipped, not to determine if there had been graft but to find out how Bruner could have been so careless as to have been caught.²²



A LITTLE LESSON IN UNNATURAL HISTORY.

What Is This Mon-ster? It Is The *Leg-is-la-ti-Cor-rup-ti-cus*, or Bood-le Snake. What Is that Large Lump in the Mid-dle of the *Leg-is-la-ti-Cor-rup-ti-cus*? That is El-wood Bru-ner. He is on the In-side.

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ANOTHER CARTOON FROM THE EXAMINER

Bruner puffed indignation that was more suggestive of a guilty conscience than of an outraged innocence. He admitted writing the letter, but said he had done it only as an attempt to trap the *Examiner*, who he claimed was blackmailing him. It was said, however, that the evidence against him was conclusive enough "to have convicted a Chinese lottery dealer in a San Francisco court."²³ Four men testified how they had been offered police jobs. W. S. Leake revealed how he had helped Bruner cash Stillwell's check of \$400. Bruner's stature, however, brought a pause to the committee's deliberations. Was he not the son of the chaplain of the state senate? Had he not been picked by party leaders as the most promising candidate for the next congress? These weighty

considerations were enough to divide the committee into rendering their verdict via the majority and minority report.

The majority report found Bruner guilty, but recommended as much clemency as possible on two counts: one, he had such a bright future before him; two, he had a wife and children whose feeling ought to be taken into consideration. The minority report found him not guilty. But they reprimanded him on two counts: one, he should have revealed his blackmailers sooner; two, he had exposed the assembly to scandalous charges which were extremely humiliating to its members.²⁴

The final decision was passed on to the senate, and they, with all the vigor of the old political order, thumbed their nose at public opinion by accepting the minority report of not guilty. Bruner wept. Both houses cheered. And A. J. Bledsoe, chairman of the majority report, narrowly escaped bodily injury.²⁵

If the Southern Colonel would rather commit adultery than mention the word before a lady, the word 'bribery' affected the politicians of 1891 in the same manner. It was treason for any legislator to use the word, as State Senator R. B. Carpenter found out when he intimated that bribery was behind the creation of new counties.

Ever since the temporarily deranged man . . . let slip the grotesque intimation that he believed it to be within the bounds of possibility that a member of the Legislature might be bribed, he has been tabooed. Not only the Senators and Assemblymen, but the natives turn away from him and as he lurks about the streets, a gloomy, conscience-stricken wretch, one . . . can but feel pity for the miserable man, great as was his crime.²⁶

It was the word they objected to, not the act itself. As Boss Buckley put it: "The theory was prevalent then that virtue should not be its own reward, on the contrary, that virtue should be encouraged pecuniarily."²⁷ One of the greatest feats of the nineteenth century grafter was to rationalize the act of bribery by giving it a code and manners. Bribery was refined and dignified as an art, indeed—a gentle art. A crude bargain became a prudent bargain. A transaction of corruption mellowed by courtesy and tact could keep its practitioners out of contact with the shame of it. Guilt was sweetened for some of the more chivalrous rogues, who thought of themselves, as one observer said, as practicing an art as suave and "courtly as a society leader's attention to a well-bred lady."²⁸

This was supposed to be a "typical" scene demonstrating how bribery had become civilized. A gentleman grafter and a legislator talked in only the most informal terms about a proposed bill, and then the conversation worked itself gracefully to—arithmetic. Or

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the talk might center on the weather when instant rapport was achieved by the casual gesture of so many outstretched fingers.²⁹

Perhaps such courtly boodlers as Stephen Gage (who at least looked like a gentleman), or the railroad's attorney, Creed Haymond, whose flowing white beard made him look like a resurrected Moses, could conduct bribery with such delicacy. But it is questionable how many politicians were true to the manners of a gentleman over sustained periods of time. That they wore their gentility thin can be seen when the legislators with an "open account" congregated in San Francisco at the end of the legislative session for the rewards of services rendered. At the Mint Saloon,³⁰ aptly located on Commercial Street, they received whiskey and a plain but pudgy envelope, which had a way of reducing courtliness into a bacchanalian frolic.

Not all legislation became Operation Boodle. The coyote gave the legislature the opportunity to make up for some of its past indiscretions. As the scourge of poultry, hogs, and sheep, the coyote was a serious menace in California farm lands. Appropriating for one instant the righteous indignation of a reformer, the legislature leveled a bounty law against the four-legged grafter. The bill, which promised a five dollar reward for every coyote scalp, set in motion a fevered search that made the coyote the most provocative animal in the history of the state.

The hunt became so successful that the legislature of 1893 was presented with a demand to appropriate \$200,000 to reclaim 40,000 coyote scalps. The legislature became uneasy, demurred, and passed the scalp problem on to the next legislature. In the depression of 1893, the shortage of money made coyote scalps a recognized medium of exchange in the farming country. The country stores exchanged food for scalps; the banks exchanged commercial paper for scalps. "It is said that through the San Joaquin Valley, when the safe of a country store was opened, it smelled like a tannery."³¹

By 1895 the coyote threatened to wreck the state treasury. The bill for scalps had swollen to an astonishing \$500,000. The legislators, however, caught a whiff of foul play. An investigation found that large quantities of scalps had been shipped in to California from as far east as Oklahoma, and as far south as Mexico. New Mexico was getting a reputation for its coyote breeding farms. The question of the day became: was the deceased coyote a native son or daughter? The great hunt finally ended in scandal in 1897, when some legislators became speculators trying to corner the coyote market.³² Thus the legislature of 1891, for all its good will,

only succeeded in passing down to posterity a fragrant reminiscence of its own scandals.

Adjournment day concentrated all the spirit of the political order of bosses and boodle. To a newspaper, this was a spirit of gloom.

At twelve o'clock last night the body which for eighty days has been more harmful to the state than beneficial, adjourned. The legislature adjourned at a very appropriate hour for a body which did so many dark deeds. It is proper that it should have adjourned at such a dark hour, when the graves open, and the spirits of darkness are abroad.³³

To the legislature, it was a spirit of fun—fun translated into pandemonium. The legislature had worked itself into the deep hours of the night trying to finish its final business. The galleries were thronged with well-wishers. Then the fun started. The Speaker of the Assembly was sent scrambling and singed as firecrackers exploded under his desk. To the immense amusement of all, two assemblymen, a trifle unsteady, threw hats, canes, and books at their colleagues. Legislators and spectators alike joined in a sort of symbolic catharsis by hurling wastepaper baskets and scraps of paper at each other. To top off the festivities, the distinguished Elwood Bruner ran out on the street and caught a ragged newsboy, dragged him down the aisle of the assembly and onto the Speaker's desk, where assemblyman and newsboy, in song and dance, rendered "Down Went McGinty." They were given three rousing cheers.³⁴

In the echo of adjournment was the sound of an era: the bel-
low of the saloon boss, the shrill but useless screech of the reformer, the carriages of yelling men dashing from one voting booth to another, stopping more than once to vote more than once. In the closing months of 1891 it seemed to some that the days of a lusty era were numbered. "Justice will be done," proclaimed the Wallace Grand Jury, in a manner reminiscent of the vigilante days. The grand jury began in a roar and ended in a whisper. Long on denunciation, short on documentation, it sent no one to jail. But it did have one effect. It sent the saloon bosses and their underlings scurrying from the city. "The highways out of San Francisco were crowded with fugitives, some of whom had not even been suspected."³⁵ When they returned, they were no longer able to dominate their organizations as they had in days of old. Moreover, the public roused itself long enough to send eight Populists to the next legislature. These developments led a contemporary to conclude that "King Mazuma was thenceforth a deposed potentate, his scepter broken, his tinsel crown trampled in the mud."³⁶

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But this was an exaggeration. Election day continued to be a magnificent brawl; new rascals, like Daniel Burns and Abraham Ruef, replaced old rogues, like Martin Kelly and Chris Buckley. The legislature of 1891 did not end an era, on the contrary, it epitomized one—the blatant, raucous and shameless era of the political buccaneer.

A newspaper of the day was more cautious in casting judgment. It summed up the life and times of the Legislature of a Thousand Scandals by only saying that it wasn't quite sure whether there had been more vice—or less virtue.³⁷

NOTES :


1. Martin Kelly, "Martin Kelly's Story," *San Francisco Bulletin* (Sept. 1 to Nov. 28, 1917), Sept. 21, 1917, p. 7. Hereafter cited as Kelly.
2. Donald Wheaton, *The Political History of California, 1887-1898* (University of California: unpublished Ph.D thesis, 1924), p. 128, quoting George Penn Johnston. No reference given. Hereafter cited as Wheaton.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 102, quoting Mayor Glascock of Oakland. No reference given.
4. When it came to describing corruption, Californians thought in good, round numbers. Both the legislature of 1850 and 1889 were called the Legislature of a Thousand Drinks.
5. The political position of San Francisco, as city and county, was almost decisive. No other county had a third as many delegates as San Francisco; it commanded ten votes in a senate of forty, twenty votes in an assembly of eighty.
6. Sam Leake, "When King Mazuma Reigned," *San Francisco Bulletin* (Mar. 16 to Apr. 26, 1917), Sept. 13, 1917, p. 12. Hereafter cited as Leake. Sensitive to criticism, Bromwell once read that he had been denounced on the floor of the assembly. Enraged, he sent a telegram to a friend in Sacramento: "Brand false as hell published statement that I have corrupted Legislature." He received this reply: "No 'false as hell' branding irons in Sacramento market. Be of good cheer Lou. Today's papers light tomorrow's fire." *Loc. cit.*
7. From a conversation with Walton Bean.
8. See Alexander Callow, Jr., "San Francisco's Blind Boss," *The Pacific Historical Review*, XXV (August, 1956), pp. 261-279.
"In those days a saloon was the necessary equipment of a political boss, as necessary almost as control of the County Committee." Abraham Ruef, "The Road I traveled. An autobiographic Account of my Career from University to Prison, with an Intimate Recital of the Corrupt Alliance between Big Business and Politics in San Francisco." *San Francisco Bulletin*, (Apr. 6 to Sept. 5, 1912), May 29, 1912, p. 8. Hereafter cited as Ruef.
Buckley's saloon was on Washington Street, Kelly and Crimmins owned or had interests in saloons at Third and Market, Sixteenth Street, Geary near Kearney, and Fifth and Market.
9. Ruef, May 24, 1912, p. 12.
10. Ruef, Jun. 8, 1912, pp. 1, 13; Kelly, Sept. 6, 1917; Edith Dobie, *The Political Career of Stephen Mallory White* (Stanford University Press, 1927), p. 20; "The Reminiscences of Christopher A. Buckley," edited by James H. Wilkins, *San Francisco Bulletin* (Dec. 23, 1918 to Feb. 5, 1919), Jan. 22, 1919, p. 7. Hereafter cited as Buckley; Walter Bean, *Boss Ruef's San Francisco* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1952), p. 7. *San Francisco Call* Mar. 22, 1891, p. 4. There have been various estimates on how much Leland Stanford spent, from \$1,000,000 to \$1,500,000.
11. *San Francisco Examiner*, Mar. 26, 1891, p. 2.
12. Leake, Mar. 12, 1917, p. 8; *Examiner*, Feb. 5, 1891, p. 5; *Call*, Mar. 20, 1891, p. 8.
13. Leake, Apr. 14, 1917, p. 4; Apr. 17, 1917, p. 9; *Examiner*, Jul. 23, 1891, p. 3; Jul. 28, 1891, p. 3; Aug. 22, 1891, p. 3.
14. Kelly, Sept. 21, 1917, p. 7; *Examiner*, Feb. 4, 1891, p. 5; Feb. 25, 1891, p. 5; *Call*, Feb. 12, 1891, p. 8. The record of the legislature was not entirely black. The Australian Ballot and the Berry Contempt bill were passed.

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15. *Examiner*, Jul. 23, 1891, p. 6. The library was a storehouse of information. Records of measures and men were card indexed and available for promoters of "cinch" bills. It was also a conference room where many shady deals were hatched. See Leake, Mar. 5, 1917, p. 10.
16. Kelly, Sept. 18, 1917, p. 16.
17. *Loc. cit.*
18. *Loc. cit.*
19. *Ibid.*, Sept. 17, 1917, p. 16.
20. Kelly says that they represented the payoff for the bill making the telegraph a common carrier; Wheaton believes the money was used to pay Elwood Bruner and his friends for the suppression of the Anti-Scalpers' Bill; the newspapers variously guessed it went for the Glenn and Riverside county fight, or the electric trolley bill.
21. *Examiner*, Mar. 5, 1891, p. 1.
22. *Loc. cit.* For further details on the Bruner scandal, see Wheaton, pp. 123-126.
23. *Examiner*, Mar. 26, 1891, p. 6.
24. Wheaton, p. 126.
25. Assemblyman James Lowe had to be held back from striking him. Lowe then challenged Bledsoe to get his pistol and step outside. Bledsoe declined, but added: "I am an American citizen and am afraid of no one." *Call*, Mar. 21, 1891, p. 8.
26. *Examiner*, Feb. 5, 1891, p. 5.
27. Buckley, Jan. 30, 1919, p. 8.
28. Leake, Mar. 16, 1917, p. 3.
29. *Loc. cit.*
30. This saloon was practically a political institution in San Francisco. Run for many years by the colorful Bill Higgins, it was taken over by Martin Kelly. It served as the headquarters for both Republican bosses.
31. Leake, Apr. 21, 1917, p. 8.
32. *Loc. cit.* Many years later there was a settlement of claims on a basis that seemed equitable. See Leake, Apr. 21-25, 1917.
33. Wheaton, p. 131, quoting from the *Call* (no date or page reference given).
34. *Examiner*, Mar. 26, 1891, p. 2.
35. Leake, Apr. 18, 1891, p. 18.
36. *Ibid.*, Apr. 19, 1917, p. 14.
37. *Examiner*, Dec. 24, 1891, p. 2. The phrase was borrowed from the historian, Edward Gibbon.

The Names of the California Missions

By J. N. Bowman

HE FRANCISCAN FATHERS, IN COOPERATION with the government in its colonization venture of the province and for its military services and protection, established 21 missions along the coast from San Diego to Sonoma between 1769 and 1823. Each mission was given a name on its founding and this formal and official name was duly entered in the *padres'* reports to the government and on the title pages of the books of baptisms, marriages and deaths when they were opened for entries. Two missions (San Rafael and Sonoma), however, had no title pages in their books but for San Rafael the heading of the first page and above the first entry had what served as a title page, but Sonoma's books had neither a title page nor a substitute.

In time, changes were made by the *padres* in their reports and letters in designating the names of their missions especially in the form of abbreviation of the names: frequently the "de" was omitted and also the "mision de"; also it became quite general to shorten the formal names by using one of the proper names in the official designation, as Santa Barbara, San Antonio, Soledad. In the early days these in turn were shortened in some cases as P. for Purisima Concepcion, S.J. for San Juan Capistrano, and S.L. for San Luis Obispo. In only one case has there been found the *padres'* recognition of the existence of a popular name: Carmelo. For San Gabriel the "de Temblores" was uniformly omitted and and in connection with San Antonio they occasionally added "de los Robles."

The popular use followed quite closely the shortened and abbreviated names of the *padres* but in three cases the popular names were quite at variance from the *padres'* names and in time, in fact, these popular names have become the generally accepted names of the missions and replaced the official names: "de Asis" in connection with Mission San Francisco and also Dolores for this same mission; Carmel for Mission San Carlos, and Sonoma for Mission San Francisco Solano.¹

In the following list appear the formal and official names as given by the *padres* on the founding of the missions and the changed, shortened or abbreviated names used by them during the mission period from 1769 to the secularization in 1834-37, and also the popular and non-religious names. The list of the missions is given in the chronological order of their founding.

SAN DIEGO. The official name in the parochial books is *Misión de San Diego de Alcalá*, and was founded on July 16, 1769, with the books opened on the same day. For general use the *padres* shortened the name to *Misión San Diego* or *San Diego*, and the practice was followed by the populace.

CARMEL. The official name was *Misión de San Carlos del Puerto de Monterey*. When the mission was founded on June 3, 1770, Padre Serra had been charged to give the name San Jose to the presidial chapel and San Carlos Borromeo to the mission; for some unknown reason this name failed to appear in the parochial books. The *padres* shortened the name to *Misión de San Carlos de Monterey*, and once it was written *Carmelo Misión*; it was further shortened to *Misión San Carlos* and to *San Carlos*. In 1774 one entry in the mission reports recognized the existence of the general popular name, already in existence and use, for the mission at its new site (August 1771) on the Rio de Carmelo: "San Carlos de Monterey vulgo del Carmelo," and also once in 1787 "Carmelo" was used to head a statistical report of the mission; and also in this same year a report was headed "San Carlos de Monterey en el Rio Carmelo." Outside the religious circle the general name was San Carlos and Carmel; the latter name came into use at or soon after the move from the presidio to the Carmel River, and in time became the generally used name and in popular use replaced the official name.

SAN ANTONIO. It was founded on July 14, 1771, with the official name appearing on the title page as *Misión de San Antonio de Padua*. The name was shortened by the *padres* for convenient use to *Misión San Antonio*, and *San Antonio*, and on a few of the early reports the name was written "San Antonio de los Robles."

SAN GABRIEL was founded on September 8, 1771, with the official name of *Misión del Santo Principe el Arcángel San Gabriel de los Temblores alias Poviscanga*, which the *padres* shortened in their reports and letters to *Misión San Gabriel* and *San Gabriel*, and only once has the "de los Temblores" been found, but never the "Poviscanga." The popular name has uniformly been San

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Gabriel. The earthquake referred to in the name was that reported by the Portolá expedition in 1769 on the way north in search of Monterey Bay.

SAN LUIS OBISPO was founded on September 1, 1772, with the official name of *Misión de San Luis Obispo de Tolosa*, which was shortened by the padres into San Luis Obispo, Misión, San Luis Obispo, and in the early days into San Luis. This abbreviation also became the popular name.

SAN JUAN CAPISTRANO has a conflicting question as to the date of the founding: October 30, 1775, and November 1, 1776,² due to the interruption of the founding on the former date by the Indian massacre at San Diego. The official name as it appears on the title page when the books were opened on the latter date was *Misión de San Juan Capistrano* which was shortened to Misión San Capistrano or San Juan Capistrano, and in the early days to San Juan, and this became the popular name. The historical date may be taken as October 30, 1775, but the books were opened on November 1, 1776, by the founder of all the early missions, Padre Serra, and out of deference to him the traditional and accepted date is the one in 1776. This procedure is quite the contrary of that at Santa Cruz where the traditional and historical date is the August date and not the date of the opening of the books, a month later.

SAN FRANCISCO also has a controversial date for the founding: June 28 or 29, July 26, and October 8 or 9, 1776.³ The parochial books were opened on August 1 with the official name of *Misión de No. Pe. Sn. Francisco*. This was abbreviated for convenience in reporting and letter writing to Misión San Francisco, or San Francisco. The words "de Asís" were not used by the *padres*, but were used by the people and the non-religious to distinguish the various place names in the Bay—presidio, mission, pueblo, harbor. All these places bore the name San Francisco in some manner and all referred to the founder of the order of Franciscans—San Francisco de Asís. Already in 1806 Langsdorf wrote Mission San Francisco de Asís, and also Mission de Santa Clara de Asís. After the secularization in 1834 a few only of the official reports of the mission inventories were headed San Francisco de Asís. In recent years the "de Asís" has been fixed to the official name for added dignity.

SANTA CLARA was founded on January 12, 1777, but the book of Baptisms was not opened until June 6 of the same year and the other two books were opened later still. All bore the official name of *Misión de Ntra. Mdre. Santa Clara*. The usual abbreviations

were made by the fathers for convenience in reports and letters: mission Santa Clara, or Santa Clara. The popular use followed this practice.

SAN BUENAVENTURA, founded on March 31, 1782, has the title-page name of *Misión del Glorioso Obispo Cardinal y Doctor Serafico de la Ylasiá San Buenaventura*; this was shortened in mission use to Mission San Buenaventura, or San Buenaventura. The popular use shortened this abbreviation still further to Mission Ventura, or Ventura, and this abbreviation in turn became official on the creation of the County in 1872.

SANTA BARBARA, founded on December 4, 1786, four years after the founding of the presidio of the same name, has the official name of *Misión de la Sra. Sta. Barbara Virg. y Martir*, which the fathers shortened to Mission Santa Barbara, or Santa Barbara. And this abbreviation was accepted by the populace.

PURISIMA CONCEPCION was founded on December 8, 1787, with the name of *Misión de la Purisima Concepcion de la SSma. Virgen Maria*. The name was shortened into Mission Purisima Concepcion, or Purisima Concepcion and the popular usage followed this practice and even went farther by shortening the name to Purisima.

SANTA CRUZ was founded on August 28, 1791, but the parochial books were not opened until a month later on September 25, with the name of *Misión de Sta. Cruz*; this name was readily shortened to Mission Santa Cruz or Santa Cruz with no change in the popular name.

SOLEDAD was founded on October 9, 1791, with the name of *Misión de Maria SSma. Nra. Sra. de la Soledad*, and this was shortened both by the *padres* and the populace to Mission Soledad, or Soledad.

SAN JOSE was founded on June 11, 1797, with the name of *Misión del Gloriosísimo Patriarcho Sr. Joseph*, but this name was not used by the fathers who preferred the Spanish name of San Jose and called it Mission San Jose, or San Jose. Popular usage, however, used only the Mission San Jose in order to distinguish it from the pueblo San Jose nearby. Popular usage, even accepted by the mission itself, has recently at an unknown date created the name Mission de San Jose de Guadalupe.

SAN JUAN BAUTISTA was founded on June 24, 1797, with the name of *Misión de Sn. Bautista Precursor de J.C.* The fathers

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shortened it to Mission San Juan Bautista, or San Juan Bautista. The popular name was the same with the occasional name of Mission San Juan.

SAN MIGUEL was founded on July 25, 1797, with the name of *Misión del Gloriosísimo Principe Arcángel Señor San Miguel* which in official use was shortened to Mission San Miguel, or San Miguel, and both of these abbreviations were accepted in general use.

SAN FERNANDO was founded on September 8, 1797 with the name of *Misión de Sr. Sn. Fernando Rey de España*. The *padres* shortened this to Mission San Fernando, or San Fernando, and these were also accepted for popular use.

SAN LUIS REY was founded on June 13, 1798, with the official name of *Misión de San Luis Rey de Francia*.⁴ Both the fathers and the populace shortened it to Mission San Luis Rey, or San Luis Rey.

SANTA INES was founded on September 17, 1804, with the official name of *Misión de la Señora Sta. Ines Virgen y Martir*. The *padres* shortened this name to Mission Santa Inez, or Santa Inez, and the general usage was the same with the added shortened name Mission Ines.

SAN RAFAEL, founded on December 14, 1817, had the official name of *Misión de el Glorioso Principe S.R. Arcángel*, and heading substitute for the title page reads "assistencia de San Rafael." But the fathers and the populace shortened this to Mission San Rafael, or San Rafael.⁵

SONOMA was founded on July 4, 1823, with the name of *Misión de San Francisco Solano*. The title page apparently was never written or if so has long been lost; a substitute for it is the heading of the first page of the book of baptisms above the first entries, and gives the substance of the usual title page data. This heading and the first entries were both written by Padre Altimira who founded the mission. In their reports and letters the fathers shortened the name to Mission San Francisco Solano but did not omit the Solano in order to distinguish it from the Mission near the presidio. The popular name, Sonoma, was derived from the pueblo of Sonoma which arose as a result of the selection of the mission as the site of the Hajar colony in 1834, and especially from the "nueva ciudad de Sonoma" which Governor Figueroa ordered General Vallejo to found, on June 24, 1835. In 1835 General Vallejo headed his letters "Solano" and the following year he headed them "Sonoma." This name in popular use has replaced the official name.

Such are the official and popular names of the California missions, the conflict of new names for supremacy in general usage, and the encroachment on and even replacement of some of the popular names over the official and formal designations.

NOTES :


1. The official names are taken from the title pages of the books of baptisms or the first page of entries in the case of San Rafael. Almost all of the missions have their books; San Luis Rey, however, lost its three books of baptisms, marriages and deaths over a century ago, and for the official name of this mission Father Geiger, archivist of the Santa Barbara Mission archives, found it in the report of the founding. The founding reports of San Rafael and Sonoma were also checked. These reports and the mission annual and other reports are found in the Santa Barbara archives, and much material is also found in the Bancroft Library. The mission books are now in the missions and in the chanceries of the bishopric of Fresno-Monterey and of the archbishoprics of San Francisco and Los Angeles; the books of Sonoma, however, are in the Bancroft Library to which they came as part of the Vallejo documents. Several reproductions of the title pages are found in Engelhardt's histories of the missions (Dolores, San Carlos, San Juan Capistrano, and Santa Barbara).
2. On October 30, 1775, the site was selected, the ceremonies performed and the building begun; a few days later the stock and supplies arrived from San Juan Gabriel, and also the news of the Indian massacre at San Diego. The chapel bell was buried, the building abandoned, and with the stock and supplies all returned to the southern presidio. The uprising caused the military authorities to abandon temporarily the rebuilding of San Diego and the completion of San Juan Capistrano. Later the rebuilding and the completion was authorized. Serra and his company completed the buildings, dug up the bell and opened the books on November 1, 1776. In accordance with the usual procedure in the founding of the missions the historical date is October 30, 1775, but the traditional and deferential date to Serra is November 1, 1776. Later Mission Santa Cruz had a somewhat similar foundation condition regarding the founding and the building operation and the opening of the books, but did not follow the example of the southern mission as to the founding date.
3. The governor's orders were for the founding of the presidio first. The expedition of soldiers, missionaries, civilians, and servants arrived at the banks of the laguna of Dolores on June 26. This became the military camp while waiting the arrival of the ship San Carlos from Monterey and in the meantime they selected the site for the presidio and also for the mission. The day after the arrival an enramada was erected at the camp site and Father Palou said mass on that or the following day (he gives both days), and this served as the chapel until the chapel at the presidio had been erected and later the one at the mission site. On July 26 the military officer in charge approved the site at last selected for the mission and gave orders for the founding to go on while he erected the pole houses for the presidio. So by July 26 the padres had made their selection of a site for the mission—at or near the camp site on the plain to the west of the laguna. A few days after the arrival of the San Carlos on August 17 the priests' house and a chapel were erected, but the governor's orders for the presidio founding first delayed further ceremonies. The first Mass was said in the presidio chapel on July 28 and the parochial books were opened on August 1. On September 17 the presidio was formally dedicated and the mission founding could then go on. The mission chapel was blessed on October 3 and the formal ceremonies were set for next day, but they were delayed until the Lieutenant could return from an exploring expedition, and so were performed on October 8 or 9 (Palou gives both dates, but the latter is the more probable one), thus meeting the governor's orders by using the dedication rather than the founding date. The historical date of the founding may be taken as July 26 and the political and traditional date is October 9.
4. The books of baptisms, marriages, deaths of San Luis Rey have been lost since 1847. The official name was reported by Father Geiger from the report in the Santa Barbara archives.
5. The title page, if there ever was one, has been lost, but an abbreviated substitute appears above the first entry of the book of baptisms.

The Life and Death of a Quicksilver Mine

By Helen Rocca Goss

PART III — GOOD TIMES AND BAD

(Conclusion)

S IN ALL MINES, THERE WERE YEARS at the Great Western when the ore was both high grade and plentiful, others when there was grave concern as to whether enough could be found to keep the furnaces running. The late 1870's were years not only of prosperity at the Western but of great promise for the future, and many newspaper items at that time reflect the favorable situation. The *Calistogian* of January 2, 1878, for example, carried an item about Superintendent Rocca being in town the previous day and reporting the mine to be "in a flourishing condition." On March 27th that year the same paper said:

We understand that cinnabar of extraordinary richness has lately been found in the Great Western Quicksilver Mine, and Mr. A. Rocca, the superintendent, states that a specimen of it will be sent to the Paris Exposition.

And again, on November 6, 1878, the *Calistogian* reported:

Exceedingly rich and large amounts of cinnabar have lately been found in the Great Western Quicksilver Mine. We have been told by one who knows, that nothing like these recent discoveries have ever before been made in this mine. Of course, Rocca is happy; as it is through his engineering that these rich bodies of cinnabar are found.

The following year, on March 5, 1879, the *Calistogian* reported that the furnaces at the Great Western "are running to their fullest capacity, weather delightful and all vegetation growing rapidly, also good prospects for a couple of weddings—all being considered harbingers of better times." And in a long article on "Quicksilver Mining—Shipments of Metal from Calistoga During

the Past Two Years," the *Calistogian* of January 7, 1880, said that production at the Lake and Napa county mines was increasing steadily, adding that the percentage of improvement during the year 1879 over 1878 was larger at the Great Western than at any other mine shipping metal out of Calistoga. The article concluded: "The Great Western Mine is said to be looking exceedingly fine—much better than at any period since it was first opened, the ore being practically inexhaustible."

This estimate of "practically inexhaustible" ore bodies at the Great Western was as exaggerated as the Wilson report had been on the same subject in 1879. Nevertheless, the figures for production of quicksilver in these years show that the mine reached its peak at about this time, producing an average of from 6,000 to 7,000 flasks in each of the years 1879, 1880, and 1881. It could not, of course, compete with the greatest producer of them all—the New Almaden, which was far in the lead of all the other mines with an average annual production of 20,000 to 25,000 flasks in this era. The Guadalupe or the Sulphur Bank came next, but the Great Western was usually in fourth place, sometimes in third.¹ And, as the *Calistogian* of July 20, 1881, pointed out, although the Sulphur Bank was a big producer and "a very valuable mine," because of the difficulties experienced there with both gas and heat, "an immense amount of machinery and vast outlay of money have thus far been necessary in working it." For this reason, the Great Western and the Napa Consolidated, or Oat Hill, frequently showed a greater proportionate profit than some of their larger competitors. In the spring of 1880, a Middletown correspondent of the Lower Lake *Bulletin* wrote an account—reprinted in the *Calistogian* of April 7, 1880—of a visit he had paid to the various mines in the neighborhood. He reported that "The Oat Hill and Western are basking on the full tide of successful operation," and the dividend notices would seem to bear out this statement. An item in the *Calistogian* for July 20, 1881, reads:

We understand that the last dividend made a few weeks ago by the Great Western Mining Co. amounted to \$12,500. As we understand it, there are only two quicksilver mines in California that are *reported* as paying dividends thus far this year—the one above mentioned, and the Napa Consolidated Mining Co., whose last dividend was \$10,000.



— Photo from the Author's Collection

SCHOOL AT THE GREAT WESTERN MINE IN LATE 1890's

Lily Martin, the teacher, stands on the left of the five adults in the first row. The small girl on the bottom step is Idalene Rocca. Marie Stoddard is just behind her (in the wide-brimmed hat) and Andrew Rocca, Jr., with plaid tie, is on Marie's left. Bernard Rocca is behind Andrew on the right, and Florence, in a figured dress, is in the center of the picture. Jennie Cavagnaro is at the right of Florence and Beatrice Rocca is at the right on the top step.



— Photo from the Author's Collection

TYPICAL BELL-TEAM

This photo, given to the author by the driver, the late William J. Myers, was made while the team and loaded wagon was on the steep grade just below the Great Western Mine.

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It was less than two months later, too—on September 14, 1881—that the same newspaper was reporting “a dividend of twenty-five cents per share has been declared by the Great Western Mining Company.” And quicksilver shipments from the Great Western as reported in the *Calistogian* during July and August that year make a total of more than 1,000 flasks.

As I have indicated, the Wilson report on the Great Western, in which the amount of ore was characterized as “fabulous” and incapable of being exhausted “for a century to come,” proved to be greatly exaggerated. In fairness to Wilson, however, it should be pointed out that he was misled by the odd shape of the ore body. On that subject my brother Bernard writes:

The ore body at the Western was shaped just like a big fish, and since by chance the first tunnel went in endwise, an enormous ore body was indicated. Because of its shape, however, the vein narrowed as work progressed both up and down.

These facts were not known then, though, and it was on a note of high promise that the 1880's were ushered in at the mine, since there were indications of such a large ore body there. The only dark cloud on the horizon at that time was the declining price of quicksilver, prices dropping to their lowest levels at the very moment when the Great Western was producing so well. On the subject of the high prices of quicksilver in the early 1870's and the subsequent sharp drop in prices, Walter Bradley in *Quicksilver Resources of California* (p. 11) wrote in 1918:

Previous to the high prices induced by the present war situation, the high-water mark in the price of quicksilver in California was reached in 1874 (the highest quotation being \$118.55 per flask), with \$105.18 the average San Francisco figure for that year. This was preceded by an average of \$80.33 in 1873, and followed by \$84.15 in 1875. The following year it dropped to \$44.00. The low record sales price was \$25.25 in 1879, but 1882 was the lowest year, with an average of \$28.23.²

In spite of the depressed market in 1882, the Western paid a dividend that year, the last one it was to pay for some time.³ Times were hard for all of the quicksilver mines the following year, and the January 2, 1884, issue of the *Calistogian* was full of gloomy news about the shutting down of various mines in Lake and Sonoma counties. The Great Eastern was “dead as a door

nail," and some of its machinery had been shipped to San Francisco, the article said. The Sulphur Bank Mine had "closed indefinitely," work having been suspended the end of the year. Three weeks later, on January 23, 1884, after reporting that quicksilver was selling for 34 cents a pound in San Francisco with "no prospect of increasing demand or price," the *Calistogian* continued:

The Great Western and Napa Consolidated mines are running as usual, and if ore can be mined there at the same cost as heretofore, they can stand a further reduction of a few cents per pound; but dividends would be declared only once in about fifty years! There is a great deal of quicksilver used, but if the price falls several cents lower, very little if any of the metal will be taken from any mine in California except from the New Almaden.

By February of that year the Napa Consolidated Mine had also closed temporarily, and my mother wrote as follows of the unfavorable situation:

The Oat Hill Mine has closed down, as did the Sulphur Bank & Redington some time ago. So now the New Almaden and the Western are about all that is left. The Western keeps on about as usual, and if we are fortunate enough to find something in the new shaft, it will be better days for the Western as Q. S. will go up in price. It is now only 34 cts., the lowest ever known. The price has been put down to close out as many small mines as possible.⁴

The fluctuating fortunes of the Great Western during the next five years are faithfully recorded in numerous items in the *Calistogian*, in many of which Editor Multer took occasion to pay high tribute to the friend whom he called "Superintendent Rocca of the Gt. Western." On March 25, 1885, for example, he stated that shipments from the Great Western had increased in the past few weeks and added that it was the best paying property of the mines in the area; on May 27, 1885, he reported that an important discovery of cinnabar had been made at the Great Western; and on November 4th that year, after giving the October shipments from the mines as Great Western, 346; Napa Consolidated, 208; Sulphur Bank, 147, Multer went on to say:

The Gt. Western takes the lead as usual during many years past, this property being apparently among the most valuable of the kind in California. But there have been one or two periods in its history of late years when prospects there were dark, and finally made brighter

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and satisfactory only by good management, and judgment exercised on the part of the superintendent, Andrew Rocca, who has long had charge of the mine.

And again on November 3, 1886, the *Calistogian* said:

Shipments from the Great Western Mine are larger than usual the present month, as a new body of cinnabar was recently found in one of the old drifts. With a Superintendent having less experience and without the good judgment Andrew Rocca has, the mine would have failed long ago to pay expenses. Properly and carefully worked, it appears still to be valuable property.

The year 1887 was an unprofitable one for the Great Western, and by June of the following year the mine had dropped to fourth place among those in the area. On June 6, 1888, the *Calistogian* gave the quicksilver shipments out of Calistoga the previous month as: Bradford, 429; Napa Consolidated, 320; Sulphur Bank, 185; Great Western, 69, and then added:

The Bradford Mine is producing finely, and its owners are making money rapidly . . . The Napa Consolidated Mine is also producing well, and must afford a good profit above working expenses. . . . Superintendent Rocca, at the Gt. Western, continues to ship enough to pay working expenses. He will finally do better if the cinnabar can be found in the Company's ground. He's a stayer.

And, with obvious regret, Multer expressed his fears that the Great Western was worked out in this item appearing in the April 1889, issue of his paper:

No metal was brought to town from the Great Western Mine in March, the only month in over eleven years if we remember correctly, in which quicksilver from there has not been shipped from Calistoga. There is a possibility that all cinnabar there has been taken out; but when so much has been mined within a comparatively small space, it seems that more might be obtained in that vicinity. However, if Mr. Rocca, the superintendent who has several years labored there, can not find the coveted ore, we dare say none is there to be discovered.

The Western did indeed strike bottom that year of 1889—one of the occasions when the mine officers seriously considered shutting down. It was, I believe, at this time that the company was unable to meet its payroll obligations for several months. Andrew Rocca himself advanced the money to make up the neces-

sary sum, and since he often said in later years that they were short about \$2,600 a month for three consecutive months, he must have paid out of his own pocket upwards of \$7,500 for the period. Furthermore, his own salary of \$300 a month was not paid for seventeen months, so the company owed him nearly \$13,000 at one time. He himself, of course, owned shares in the company and eventually became the largest individual stockholder. Eventually, too, he was repaid in full for the money advanced on salaries and wages.⁵

What happened at the Great Western about this time seems to bear out the old saying that "When things are at their worst, they sometimes mend." The price of quicksilver began rising, some very rich strikes were made in the mine in the next few years, and even as early as July 16, 1890, the *Calistogian* noted that "Business in and about the Great Western at present is said to be a reminder of the days when regular payment of dividends on the stock was the rule and not the exception." It was not until the year 1892, however, that the mine experienced its greatest prosperity of that era. On April 18th that year Mary Rocca wrote to her family:

The Mine is doing splendidly. It has produced over 600 flasks per month for three months now. Last month it was the highest Q. S. producer in the State, ahead of the New Almaden. The Q. S. market, however, is very dull now.

Statistics on the quicksilver shipments from the mines in the area bear out the statement of the Great Western's leadership for several months in 1892. Thus, the Middletown *Independent* for March 5th that year remarked on the heavy shipments from all the mines in February, adding: "The Great Western appears to be coming up to its standing of years ago as a producer. Shipping 610 flasks for the short month of February is a remarkably good showing." And on April 9, 1892, the same paper commented that "Six hundred flasks are a good many for the Great Western. It sounds like old times . . ." The *Calistogian*, too, on May 25, 1892, rejoiced over the good news of better times at the "Great Western."

. . . Much work is being done and everything is running smoothly. Everyone connected with the property has an air of contentment that accompanies thrift and prosperity. Andrew Rocca, as superintendent

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and one quarter owner of the capital stock of the company—knows that the future for him is bright, and the employes understand that there is plenty of labor and good pay for them a long time to come.

On May 14, 1892, the Middletown *Independent* remarked that “the Great Western Mine . . . is rapidly piling up wealth for its principal stockholders—two or three men.” And its issue two weeks later, on May 28th, said:

A San Francisco paper credits the Great Western Quicksilver Mining company with the declaration very recently of a dividend of 25 cents per share, or \$12,500 for 50,000 shares. It is said to be the 21st dividend, the stockholders having thus far received \$275,000.

Once when he was reminiscing about this era to one of his sons, Father himself said: “Everything was booming again, and the company paid me the seventeen months’ back pay—\$5,100 all at once. I felt fine, and they felt fine in San Francisco to see us shipping so much silver.”⁶

The “dull market” mentioned in Mary Rocca’s April letter in 1892, was, of course, the beginning of the economic crisis of 1893. During that depression the price of mercury dropped again, and my sister Florence recalls that large amounts of quicksilver accumulated at the mine, because there was no market for it even at the low prices quoted. For a time, too, conditions grew even worse the following year during the railroad strike of 1894, and my mother’s diary entry for February 9, 1894, reads: “Wages to be reduced 10% for both White and Chinese, with a few exceptions.” Figures for quicksilver shipments out of Calistoga show that at the end of 1892 and in 1893 the Great Western had dropped back into second or third place, the Bradford, or Mirabel Mine, as it was then called, usually leading the other mines.⁷ In spite of the panic and the railroad strike, however, the Western made an excellent showing for some months in 1894, as well as in its total production for that year and the next.⁸

Toward the end of 1896, shipments from all of the mines declined, a situation which continued into 1897. On September 18th of that year, the Middletown *Independent* said that the quicksilver received in San Francisco from the various mines in the state since the first of January had amounted to “only 10,000 flasks as against 20,000 flasks for the corresponding period in 1896.”

The year 1898 was another lean one at the Western, and in the early spring Mother wrote her family that:

Prospects in the mine are very poor indeed. There are three drills prospecting still. There is a little encouragement in the 500-ft. level going East. . . . That is all new ground and may develop something, but the old mine is worked out. I suppose a few months longer will decide it.⁹

A few months later Mother wrote a little more hopefully, saying: "They have some pretty good ore in the mine now. Not a bonanza, but very acceptable."¹⁰ By that time, however, Father was convinced that the Great Western had passed its peak and that the ore body was becoming exhausted. As a kind of ace in the hole, he had become interested in another mine—then known as the American Mine, later as the Helen Mine—which he purchased in 1899 and to which we moved in 1900.

It was always a source of great pride to Andrew Rocca that, in spite of the generally low prices often prevailing for months at a time from 1875 on, more than \$3,000,000 worth of mercury was mined and sold from the Great Western during the twenty-four years of his superintendency.¹¹ Through his careful and economical management of the mine, he established an excellent reputation among mining men and won the kind of tribute from others that Editor Multer of the *Calistogian* so frequently gave him. Another local editor—John R. Cook of the Lakeport *Democrat*—often spoke kindly of my father, too, referring to him as "the well known and able Superintendent of the Great Western."¹² And in discussing the mine, the *History of Napa and Lake Counties* said of its superintendent: "The Mine is under the able supervision of Mr. Andrew Rocca who is certainly the right man for the place, as he most thoroughly understands mining operations."¹³ Another man who met my father at the Great Western in 1877 and knew him well thereafter, was glad to add his tribute to those already quoted. That man was Charles Shurtleff, whose parents were Shasta County pioneers and who was himself a prominent San Francisco attorney for many years. In a letter of February 7, 1939, Mr. Shurtleff wrote me in part:

. . . . Your father was a successful superintendent of the Great Western and was faithful to his trust in the highest degree. The mine was always uppermost in his thoughts and he certainly conducted it in a work-

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manlike and at the same time economical and successful manner. He was a practical miner and there was no waste in the mine under his management. He never neglected nor forgot his obligations to those with whom he was associated. . . . He was a friend-maker and had a multitude of friends; he was always pleasant, agreeable and a most congenial companion. He was a good man, and I have always been grateful that I met him and knew him in my early life. . . .

Much the same point of view is expressed in the long article, "Traveling in the Mountains," in the *Calistogian* for September 18, 1878, from which a short section was quoted in the first part of this article on the stages rushing down the side of Mount St. Helena. In that article Editor Multer gave a detailed description of a trip he and Dr. A. M. Gardner of Calistoga took to the Great Western on September 12, 1878, which happened to be the second anniversary of my father's arrival there. Of their experiences with the superintendent underground, Multer wrote in part:

Mr. Rocca led us here and there in the different crosscuts and ore chambers, up ladder after ladder, from one level to another, and pointing out to us the rich, dark-red cinnabar that can be seen in all directions. He took pride in showing us the richest ore at different points in the mine. One of these was recently discovered, and a winze will soon be sunk on it.

After traveling about from point to point for over two hours and obtaining much information, so freely and cheerfully imparted by Mr. Rocca, we concluded to ascend a thirty-five foot ladder, and make our exit through another tunnel about thirteen hundred feet in length. Nearly all the ladders here are damp, the rounds covered with mud and therefore slippery. We had no special desire to ascend that ladder; but we must either do that or retrace our steps and go down the numerous ladders we had already climbed. Mr. Rocca asked, "Can you climb this ladder without danger of falling?" We replied, "O, certainly; there will be no trouble in ascending that ladder." (We didn't tell him that we wished the ladder was in the infernal regions, but we thought so nevertheless.) One at a time we climbed this slippery ladder—Mr. Rocca first, ourself next, and the Doctor last. With care we passed over it in safety, but shuddered as we stepped from round to round, and thought of the unfortunate man who recently fell from the top to the bottom of the shaft we were then going up.

We then passed through the upper tunnel and reached the outside world again on the other side of the mountain opposite that we entered, between two and three hours previous. . . . After a while we traveled over the hill, or mountain, and reached the point from where we first started.

While traveling through the mine we were reminded that the Superintendent must be a remarkably patient man. He had traveled over this mine time after time, knew every inch of it well; but still, he volunteered to conduct us through, and, not only this, he was very particular to explain everything minutely in order that we might have a good understanding as to how work is carried on in a mine of this kind. We shall remember Mr. Rocca as a very obliging and agreeable gentleman. . . .

Another thing that was a source of pride to my father was the extent of the underground work at the Western during his long years of laboring there. At the time *The History of Napa and Lake Counties* was published in 1881, the tunnels at the Great Western were listed as totaling 6,575 feet.¹⁴ The amount of underground work in the next twenty-two years is apparent when the above figures are compared with those given by William Forstner in 1903. Forstner said there were then "about 18,000 feet of drifts" at the Great Western, and a total of 1,150 feet of shafts, the main shaft reaching a depth of 750 feet with 400 feet of minor and subsidiary shafts.¹⁵

When the long-hoped-for improvement in the fortunes of the Great Western Mine did not materialize in the late 1890's, there was considerable disagreement among the directors as to the course that should be followed. Shrinking profits in any business are not conducive to good will and harmony, and this case was no exception. Tempers grew short, and there were heated arguments even between men who had been such fast friends as Gilbert Palache and Andrew Rocca. In all the discussions the latter, then the largest shareholder, held out for shutting down, cleaning up the silver around the furnaces, and calling it a day. He believed so firmly in that course that he offered to buy out the other shareholders at \$1.00 a share, or if they preferred not to sell, then he offered to sell his shares to them at .66 a share. Palache and some of the others found it difficult to understand why Father was willing to offer a dollar a share for their shares when he kept insisting that the mine was worked out, and they asked for an explanation. To that Father replied: "The answer is simple—if you do sell out to me, I'll shut down tomorrow and clean up around these old furnaces where there is lots of quicksilver. You fellows don't



— Photo from the Author's Collection

DONKEY AND CART

This little donkey, Betty by name, was the constant companion of the Rocca children. It was taken at the Great Western Mine about 1899. Shown, from left to right, are: The Author, Helen, Idalene, Bernard, Florence and Andrew Rocca, Jr.



— Photo from the Author's Collection

SUPERINTENDENT'S HOME

This photo, taken about 1899, shows the home that the Rocca family occupied at the Great Western Mine. Mary, Idalene and Bernard Rocca, accompanied by a family friend, are in the foreground.

The Life and Death of a Quicksilver Mine

seem to be smart enough to see that." Finally, after much deliberation, Palache, speaking for himself and all the others, said: "No, we don't want to sell. We still have great faith in the mine. We think it will be running and making money when our grandchildren are in their graves." So, they bought out Andrew Rocca's interest on the terms he had suggested.¹⁶

The question of the store came up next, and the owners—Halsey and Rocca—agreed to sell it at inventory, plus a certain sum to cover the cost of the lumber in the store building. The proposal was accepted, but when the inventory turned out to be nearly twice what the buyers had expected, they asked to be relieved of fulfilling their part of the bargain. This caused more dissension, but the difficulty was eventually smoothed over when the owners agreed to accept payment in monthly installments, instead of the lump sum originally specified.¹⁷

All of these details had been settled by the end of February, 1900, and on March 7 Mother wrote a long letter home about the family's plan for the future. The following excerpts from that letter suggest the mingled emotions she experienced when she considered the big change in the lives of all of us:

. . . Now, I want to tell you of a very decided change in our plans. After twenty-three and one-half years at the Great Western, Mr. Rocca has resigned his position and on May 1st we move to the Helen. Mr. Rocca thinks the Mine here is about exhausted, and that there is nothing here for him to stay for. We have not reached ore yet with the tunnel at the Helen, but we have faith in it and Mr. R. wants to thoroughly prospect it and find out if there is a Mine there or not. . . . Of course we have some regrets about leaving the home where we have spent so many happy years, and all the comforts we have gathered around us, such as our fruits and flowers, but we both think it best and I am perfectly happy in going. . . . It will be a great change, for we have been here so many years, nearly half of my life time. I suppose the Co. will send a new man here to run the Mine, and it will go on for awhile any way. . . .¹⁸

Now I want to know if you will accept some of my roses if I will send them to you? They are my own, and I will take a few with me, but only a few as the water will not be so convenient there. Then I have a great many duplicates of my favorites. They are big strong bushes and I would like very much to have you have them. . . . Do you want any chrysanthemums? I hope you can take the roses any way, for if you

have them I shall not care so much about leaving my garden. . . .

Events at the Great Western after we left there offered a rather complete vindication of Father's belief that no large bodies of ore were still untouched at the mine. On that subject my brother Andrew writes as follows:

In their search for ore, the Great Western Company levied eleven assessments before they finally acknowledged defeat, shut down, and started to clean up. This was a great satisfaction to Dad, and he never failed to let it be known. When they did clean up, they found more quicksilver in and under the old furnaces than even he had expected. They went down some sixty feet below the furnace foundations, then way up under the open hillside where the fume stack was, followed the course of the stack by tunneling under the Ida Clayton road, and all along the route they found quicksilver.

Some years later I made an effort to find out from a man who had worked at the Western during that period just how much silver was recovered. He said it was in the neighborhood of \$50,000, approximately the same figure as I had heard from another source. At the price of quicksilver then prevailing, that would have been between 1,000 and 1,200 flasks.¹⁹

In summarizing the history of the Great Western up to 1918,

Walter Bradley said that the mine had had "the longest continuous record as a producer of any quicksilver mine in Lake County"—from 1873 to 1909—and was "credited with a total yield . . . of 98,316 flasks" during that period. Some quicksilver had been recovered in cleaning-up around the old furnaces and dumps in 1912 and again in 1916, he said, adding: "The former operating company has been disincorporated, the furnaces torn down, and the mine abandoned as worked out. . . ."²⁰ The mine has, however, been operated by several different persons and on a reduced scale from time to time, especially during both world wars. It is now owned by the Bradley Mining Company, which closed down mining operations in 1947, but has for the past few years been cutting the timber into saw logs and hauling it out. There is still believed to be some good ore in one part of the mine, but it is uncertain whether there is enough to warrant the expense of mining it. This is especially true, because it would be difficult to mine it without running the risk of polluting the streams and perhaps of inviting court suits from those further down the creek.²¹

And so, the Great Western, which in its heyday teemed with

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life, bustle, and energy, is now almost as silent as the hills which encircle it. Some years ago, when I went there several times with members of the family, work was still going on in the No. 2 area. But where our old home once stood we found only the ruins of the foundation, plus two or three ancient fruit trees in the thriving orchard my parents had planted. In the pine grove where the schoolhouse used to be and which once rang with the laughter and shrill voices of children at play, all was stillness. There is something infinitely moving and sad about a deserted mining camp. It is, as Stevenson said in *The Silverado Squatters*, so odd to find no sign of life and "to compare this with the former days, when the engine was in full blast, the mill palpitating to its strokes, and the carts came rattling down . . . charged with ore." And the strangeness and pathos are even more poignant when one's own family has been so intimately associated with those happier days in the life of the mine.

NOTES

For a general statement of sources for this article, see Part I, in the *Quarterly* for June, 1957, Notes, pp. 186-189.

1. C. N. Schuette, *Quicksilver*, U.S. Bureau of Mines Bulletin No. 335, 1931, Tables, pp. 139-142. According to this source, the Great Western was in fourth place in 1880, third in 1881, 1882, and 1883, and second in 1884. Production at the Great Western in 1878 is given in the tables as 4,963 flasks, and as 6,333 flasks in 1879. Because the *Calistogian* figures were based not on production but on shipments out of Calistoga, there is usually some variation in their figures and those in the tables cited here. Thus, the *Calistogian* for January 7, 1880, gives shipments from the Great Western for 1878 as 5,027 flasks, and for 1879 as 7,029 flasks.
2. William Forstner in *The Quicksilver Resources of California*, California State Mining Bureau Bulletin, No. 27, 1903, p. 9, gives slightly different figures, however. He says the highest price per flask in 1874 was \$126.22 in San Francisco, the low was \$84.15, and that the price dropped to \$49.75 in 1875. The average price until about 1883 he gives as about \$30.00, with \$25.00 the lowest price in those years.
3. *Calistogian*, Oct. 25, 1882. In a long article "Quicksilver Mines and Quicksilver," the *Calistogian* of May 28, 1884, summarized an article on that subject which had appeared a short time before in the *San Francisco Bulletin*. The article was quoted as saying that the New Almaden, New Idria, Redington, Great Western, and Napa Consolidated were the only California quicksilver mines that had paid dividends. Dividend payments at the Great Western were listed as follows: First dividend of 25 cents per share on the 50,000 shares paid in 1873, sixteen dividends, three of which were at the rate of 25 cents per share, paid so far, no dividends paid in 1878, and none paid since October, 1882.
4. Mary T. Rocca to Amanda and John Thompson, Feb. 10, 1884.
5. A. Rocca, Jr. During the summer and autumn of 1889, when things were at a low ebb at the Western, Andrew Rocca made two mine inspection trips to Mexico for a company which had among its members and directors Porfirio Diaz and his father-in-law, Romero Rubio. Much of the time spent there was devoted to building a Litchfield furnace for the Mexican company, and I believe Litchfield accompanied Father on one of the trips. He expected to remain there permanently, and the family was all packed up to join him, when he became ill from the bad

climate where the mines were located and the water he had to drink there. Deciding that was hardly the place to take a family of small children, he gave up the position he had been offered there and returned to his post at the Great Western for more than another decade.

6. A. Rocca, Jr.
7. The *Calistogian* of December 2, 1891, announced the sale of the Bradford Mine to D. O. Mills, J. B. Randol, and Thomas Bell "for not less than \$250,000." The name Mirabel was made from the first two or three letters of the names of the new owners.
8. The tables in Schuette, *op. cit.*, credit the Great Western with a production of 5,341 flasks in 1894, and 5,023 flasks in 1895.
9. Mary T. Rocca to Amanda, Clara and John Thompson, Feb. 1, 1899.
10. *Ibid.*, May 15, 1899.
11. Aurelius O. Carpenter and Percy H. Milberry, *History of Mendocino and Lake Counties, California* (Los Angeles, 1914). p. 425.
12. *Lakeport Democrat*, April 2, 1886.
13. Lyman Palmer, *History of Napa and Lake Counties* (San Francisco, 1881), p. 136.
14. *Ibid.* The length of the tunnels at that time varied from 75 feet (No. 4) to 2,600 feet (No. 9). No. 2, then 1,500 feet long, was the second longest tunnel. On the mine in general this source continued: "The ore vein varies in width from six to sixty feet. The mine is worked on two levels, one on tunnel No. 9 and the other below that level. From No. 9 up to the surface will average two hundred and fifty feet, and is really all worked out. The present supply of ore comes from below that tunnel and is raised by hoisting-works to that level, whence it is drawn to the mouth of the tunnel on cars by mules."
15. *Op. cit.*, p. 52. Forstner pointed out that the general strike of the ore body "is northwest, with a southwestern dip of about 70°," and that the footwall "is very hard sedimentary rock altered by silification, locally called greenstone," while the hanging wall "at least at the surface, is serpentine." The ledge matter, he said, "is formed by a series of thin beds of chert . . . locally called quartzite." p. 54.
16. A. Rocca, Jr.
17. *Ibid.*
18. The company did not send a new man, but promoted to the superintendency a man who had worked for Andrew Rocca—John Andrews, brother of Will Andrews.
19. A brief summary of current production and prices of quicksilver may be of interest to the reader. According to the U.S. Bureau of Mines, Mercury Report No. 120, Nov. 21, 1956, 6,300 flasks of quicksilver were produced in the United States in the third quarter of 1956 (July-Sept.) but during that same period 13,938 flasks, or more than twice as much was imported. Nevertheless, production in that quarter was "the highest quarterly rate since the corresponding period of 1946." Under the principal producing properties, the report lists for Lake County only the Abbott and Sulphur Bank mines. Under normal conditions, the annual consumption of quicksilver in the United States is about 50,000 flasks, of which we produce roughly one-third the amount. The price of mercury has fluctuated little for some months, being quoted at \$255-\$257 for the July-Sept. period in the Mercury Report and at about \$256 a flask in recent issues of the *Wall Street Journal*. The governments procurement program authorized the purchase before December 31, 1957, of 125,000 flasks of quicksilver from domestic production, including Alaska, at a price of \$225 per flask, and of 75,000 flasks from Mexican production at the same price, duty paid, F. O. B., El Paso, Texas. Since the support price is so much lower than the open-market price, only ten or a dozen flasks have, according to best information, been purchased under that agreement. A. Rocca, Jr. and Gordon Gould.
20. *Op. cit.*, p. 58. According to letters of A. Rocca, Jr. (Jan. 18, 1957) and William J. Myers (Apr. 5, 1956), some of the buildings were torn down and the lumber sold, while the others were destroyed by fire.
21. Letter of W. J. Myers, Apr. 5, 1956.

The Carrillos of San Diego . . .

A Historic Spanish Family of California

By Brian McGinty

(Concluded from the September QUARTERLY)



CALIFORNIA'S PAGEANT OF SPANISH and Mexican history has been remembered by historians for the romantic spirit of adventure with which it abounded. It was a time of free and open ranch life, of generous hospitality, of *rodeos* and *fiestas*, clicking castanets and plaintive Spanish guitars. But the period had yet another face—one of solid historical achievement, of exploration, trail blazing, and pioneer settlement; of the building of towns, missions, and forts; and of the conquest of savage Indians. The years of California's domination by the flags of Spain and Mexico were thus of great importance for their fundamental contributions to the great state that, in 1846, was to emerge as part of the United States of America.

The part played by *Californios* in paving the way for eventual California statehood was perhaps their greatest historical achievement; but it was also the supremely painful irony of their lives in California. By preparing the Golden State for ultimate American conquest, they sealed their own doom as a people. Vastly outnumbered from the days of the great Gold Rush, Spanish Californians progressively lost their importance as an element in the general population. Those who could be of use in the new society were quickly absorbed by it; but those who could not survive were as readily lost to the ages.

The Carrillo family was in many ways representative of *Californios* as a whole. Prosperous in the days of the great ranchos, it declined drastically in wealth and importance in the early years of American rule. Its last triumph was on the California political stage. Romualdo Pacheco, whose full name in the old Spanish

tradition would have been *Pacheco y Carrillo*, embodied the finest traditions of the old and the new and California. For the Carrillo family, his life was the last great moment of service and glory. For the *Californios* it was the climax and finale of a historical epoch.

PART XIII

Maria Ignacia Lopez de Carrillo



DEVOTED MOTHER AND GUARDIAN of all the Carrillos of San Diego was Doña María Ignacia Lopez de Carrillo. Born in San Diego, probably in the early 1780's, she was the daughter of Juan Francisco Lopez and María Feliciana Arballo de Gutierrez. During her lifetime she was known by both the names of her father and her mother—*Lopez y Arballo*. But because forty years of her life were spent as the wife, and later as the widow, of Don Joaquin Victor Carrillo, patriarch of the Carrillo family in San Diego, she has come to be known in the chronicles of California history as María Ignacia Lopez de Carrillo.

Her marriage to Joaquin Carrillo took place on September 3, 1809, in the Presidial Chapel of San Diego.¹ The Carrillos' early married life was centered around the adobe walls of the Presidio of San Diego, and was maintained only by Joaquin's slender wages as a "leather-jacket" soldier. As life in the cradle-city of Spanish California crept slowly by, Doña María Ignacia gave birth to five sons and seven daughters. The first of these, Josefa, was born in 1810; the last, Marta, first saw the light of day some twenty-five years later.

The friendship of Comandante Francisco Ruiz of the Presidio of San Diego played an important part in the life of María Ignacia and Joaquin. The adobe house that Ruiz built between 1810 and 1820 outside the walls of the Presidio was long the home of the Carrillo family. Comandante Ruiz, a determined bachelor, could be difficult and irksome at times—as when he sentenced Joaquin to the stocks in San Diego for giving what the Comandante considered an unsatisfactory violin performance. But at heart he was kindly, generous, and keenly attached to the Carrillos. For many

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years before his death in the late 1830's, Ruiz continued to live in the the *Casa de Carrillo*, and before his death he deeded his famous orchard of pear, pomegranate, and olive trees to three of the Carrillo girls.

In 1834, a large group of Mexican colonists under the joint leadership of José María Padres and José María Hjar passed through San Diego on its way to the pueblos of the North. Hospitable to friends and strangers alike, the Carrillo family took into its home and cared for as many of the colonists as possible. One member of the party was the later-prominent Agustín Janssens. Many years later, writing in his *Life and Adventures in California*, Janssens wrote that while in San Diego he and other colonists were cared for by María Ignacia Lopez de Carrillo "in such a kind manner that we could almost look on her as a mother."² The widowed Ramona Carrillo de Pacheco was at that time visiting her mother in San Diego. "Mother and daughter," Janssens wrote, "did everything possible for our comfort, giving us milk, green vegetables, fruit, and whatever else we wished, or which they saw we needed, without accepting a single cent. They continued to do for others what they did for us during the whole time we were in San Diego. It is impossible to find words of gratitude to describe the generous conduct of these ladies."³

The death of Joaquin Carrillo, in about 1836, was a source of great sorrow to the family, and it was to change the entire course of their lives. Joaquin had passed nearly all of his life in the fledgling California military corps, whose members were ineligible to receive land grants from the government. When he died, he left virtually no property. Three of the family's daughters, Josefa, Ramona, and Francisca, had by this time chosen husbands and gone to live in their new homes scattered throughout the province. But nine boys and girls still remained with Doña María Ignacia, demanding her love, protection, and financial support.

To provide for her family, Señora Carrillo looked to the rich California earth—to the fertile valleys and mountains of the Golden State—where, with luck, she might begin a new life. In particular, she hoped to acquire a rancho with which to build a future and eventual legacy for her young family. She found this almost

six-hundred miles north of San Diego, on the rugged northern frontier of California.

María Ignacia and her children moved to the pueblo of Sonoma in 1837, and a year later to the pastoral Santa Rosa Valley. California's northern frontier was ruled almost single-handedly by Señora Carrillo's son-in-law, General Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo. On January 19, 1838, she petitioned to the government for a grant of land at Santa Rosa, and five days later permission to occupy two leagues in the center of the Valley was given her by General Vallejo.⁴

Her rancho was formerly named *Cabeza de Santa Rosa*. On September 30, 1841, the grant was completed by Acting Governor Manuel Jimeno, and on the last day of the year Señora Carrillo took juridicial possession. In the old medieval tradition, she "broke branches, pulled up grass, and threw stones to the four winds."⁵

Soon after occupying *Cabeza de Santa Rosa*, María Ignacia selected a site on the banks of the Santa Rosa Creek, where construction of an adobe house was soon begun. Her sons, Joaquin, José Ramon, Julio, Juan, and Dolores, were assisted in building the house by Indians recruited from the nearby hills and by Captain Salvador Vallejo, the husband of María de la Luz Carrillo. Soon after its completion, the Carrillo adobe at Santa Rosa became a popular rendezvous of life and gayety in the valley. Before its doors stretched the 8,000 fertile acres of the Carrillo rancho. Indian servants planted and winnowed wheat, while the Carrillo boys rode watch over the rapidly growing herds of cattle. In the rancho's first years, prosperity was abundant, with large numbers of sheep, 1200 to 1500 horses, and 3,000 cattle roaming the valley floor and surrounding hillsides.⁶

María Ignacia was a vigorous woman, who often rode the range on her rancho personally supervising the many and varied activities. She was also a woman who knew her own mind. Her daughter, Josefa Carrillo de Fitch, wrote vividly of Señora Carrillo's ideas on the meaning of the word California—a problem that for centuries has caused wrinkled brows among linguists. Josefa recalled that her mother had said that California was an Indian word, meaning *Loma Alta* in Spanish and *High Hill* in English; that

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this was the truthful interpretation; and that all other interpretations were "false and erroneous!"⁷

The year 1849 dawned bright for California. In the wake of earth-shaking gold discoveries at Sutter's Mill, thousands of immigrants were pouring into San Francisco Bay and across the snowy slopes of the Sierra Nevadas, opening a new era in the history of the Golden State. For María Ignacia Lopez de Carrillo, however, it was the end of a long and richly varied lifetime. Early in January of 1849, she fell ill and called her sons to her bedside to help in the making of a will. The document produced on that occasion, though couched in intricate and effusive legalistic phrases, breathes a pious spirit throughout, and remains today one of California's most distinctive articles of pioneer faith. It reads:

In the name of God Almighty, Amen. I, Maria Ignacia Lopez y Arbaes,⁸ native of San Diego and resident of Sonoma, legitimate daughter of the legitimate marriage of Don Francisco Lopez and Feliciana Arbaes, deceased, finding myself ill and believing and confessing as I firmly believe and confess in the mystery of the Most Holy Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, three distinct persons and only one true God, and all the other mysteries which our Holy Roman Catholic and Apostolic Church confesses, in which faith and belief I have lived, live, and profess to live and die, as a faithful Christian Catholic, taking for my intercessor and protector, in order that they may entreat our Holy Savior, Jesus Christ, and ever Virgin and immaculate Queen of the Angels, my Holy Guardian Angel, and those of my name devotion, that they may pardon all my sins and take my soul to rejoice in His presence; fearful of death, which is as natural and certain to all human creatures as its time is uncertain, I wish to be prepared with a testamentary disposition when it may come; resolving upon mature ability, concerning the discharge of my conscience, to avoid by clearness the doubts and disputes which might be instigated, after my death, I stipulate, make, and order my will in the following manner.———

I entrust my soul to God, who created it from the nothingness, and send my body to the earth from which it was formed, which, when it is a corpse, shall be prepared and buried in the place which my family shall designate. — I declare that I was lawfully married to Don Joaquin Carrillo (now deceased), in which marriage we begot our legitimate children, Josefa, Ramona, Maria de la Luz, Francisco, Joaquin, Ramon, Juan, Dolores, Julio, Marta, Juana, and Felicidad. ——

I declare as my executors my sons Jose Ramon, Joaquin, or Julio. —— I declare as legitimate heirs of the property that I actually pos-

sess my daughter, Maria de la Luz, Jose Ramon, Joaquin, Julio, Maria Marta, Juana de Jesus, Maria Felicidad de las Augustias. ——— (N. The exception of Josefa, Ramona, and Francisca, who have come to have no share in the property willed.)⁹ I declare that the property which I actually possess and which belongs to me is derived from the personal labor of my sons and daughters mentioned in the above clause. ——— I declare the land that my daughter Luz actually possesses, and its boundaries, are the Santa Rosa Creek, above, almost as far as the limits of the swamp which belongs to me; and the width shall be the swamp, above, along the edge of the surrounding hills. ———

I command that my house in which I now live be given up, with all its appurtenances, incomes, outlets, furniture, gardens, fences, and cultivated lands to Marta, Juana, and Felicidad; I declare the limits to be the Santa Rosa Creek, below, as far as the junction of the creeks on the North; and on the South, the creek known by the name of El Potrero as far as the limits of Santa Rosa on the East. ———

I command that the rest of my property be divided in equal parts between my children already mentioned; my son Joaquin, having received some cattle on his account, shall have these deducted from his inheritance. ——— (I bequest to Julio the house and lot in Sonoma without this being counted in the remainder of my property.)

I command that the rest of my lands be divided in equal parts between Jose Ramon and Julio. I entrust my daughter Luz with my family, for her protection, as well as my own sons and daughters, that they may look on her as sent by their mother. I entrust my sons not to be unmindful of assisting their sisters in all the emergencies necessary to pass through life, as the sisters may assist their brothers to the best of their ability. ———

I command my sons, who will be executors, before dividing my property to make to Pancha a present which they may judge suitable, as also to Jose Antonio, Bernabela, Juan de Dios, and Susana. ———

In order to fulfill all that this testament contains, I leave and name as my executors Jose Ramon, Joaquin, or Julio, and I confer upon them ample power in order that as soon as I die they shall fulfill all which I leave commanded as my last deliberate will, or in the way and form that should rightfully prevail. Thus I execute and sign before witnesses ———

Sonoma, January 6, 1849

Maria Ignacia Lopez

Julio Carrillo¹⁰

Joaquin Carrillo

By the end of February, María Ignacia Lopez de Carrillo was dead.

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Señora Carrillo had occupied a unique position in the early history of California. Born in the first year of Spanish occupation, she died on the eve of California's great rebirth as part of the United States. A brief article published in the *Panama City Star* of February 24, 1849, illustrates the uniquely inclusive nature of her life. The article refers to a crucifix given to María Ignacia when she was a young girl. Throughout her life, it was one of her most treasured possessions. But one day, many years after the crucifix had been given to her, Señora Carrillo was traveling from Monterey to Sonoma in a heavy wooden *carreta*. The crucifix was dropped under one of the massive wheels. Though it was broken, María Ignacia picked up the parts and kept them until her death. The crucifix had a special significance. It had been given to her by the apostle of California, Padre Junipero Serra.¹¹

As evidence of the respect in which she had been held, Señora Carrillo's body was interred within the hallowed walls of Mission San Francisco Solano de Sonoma. There, the padres laid her beneath the font, so that her remains would receive holy water that fell from the hands of devout worshippers.

* * * *

PART XIV

Romualdo Pacheco



CAPTAIN ROMUALDO PACHECO WAS STATIONED at the Presidio of Santa Barbara late in 1831, when his wife, the lovely Ramona Carrillo, gave birth to their second child. A boy, the baby was born on September 30, and baptized the following day as José Antonio Romualdo Pacheco.¹² History would know him as Romualdo.

The baby's future seemed a favorable one from the start. His mother was a member of one of California's most prominent pioneer families; his father a native of Guanajuato, Mexico, was an important officer in California's fledgling military corps; and his

godparents were two of the most prominent single individuals in provincial society—José de la Guerra, founder of the distinguished de la Guerra family in California, and his wife, María Antonia Carrillo, daughter of José Raimundo Carrillo and Tomasa Lugo.

But the comfortable complacency of the baby's home tumbled down upon him just three months after he was born. His father was killed in a battle near Los Angeles in December of 1831, even before Romualdo was old enough to know him.¹³ Ramona Carrillo de Pacheco then took her infant son, with his older brother, Mariano, to visit at the *Casa de Carrillo* where the baby's grandparents lived. Soon after, she returned to Santa Barbara and, in about 1836, married the Scotch sea captain, John Wilson.

Romualdo and Mariano soon grew to love their genial stepfather. Wilson took a genuine interest in the welfare and education of the Pacheco boys. The absence of schools in California made it impossible for promising young men to receive adequate training, and as early as 1838 Captain Wilson sent Mariano and Romualdo to the Sandwich Islands, where an English speaking school had recently been opened. For five years the boys studied diligently under the supervision of a Mr. and Mrs. Johnston, learning English, French, and Kanaka, the language of the Hawaiian natives.¹⁴

They returned to Santa Barbara in 1843. Captain Wilson was pleased with the progress the boys had made, and felt the time had come for them to receive some practical training. The clipper *Sterling* was then in port, and Wilson arranged for Romualdo to go on board with Thomas B. Park, the ship's *Supercargo*. For more than a year, young Pacheco followed the ways of a seafarer's life, gaining valuable experience in trading and navigation. In 1846, the year of California's seizure by the United States, he was still at sea. On July 7, when Commodore John Drake Sloat raised the Stars and Stripes at Monterey, Romualdo was sailing up the California coast in one of Captain Wilson's trading ships. Passing the rocky and wooded slopes of Point Pinos, just south of Monterey, the ship was stopped by the U. S. war sloop, *Cyane*. The crew was told that Mexico and the United States were at war, and that Wilson's ship would have to be searched. The Americans found the

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ship to be on peaceful business and allowed it to proceed. As the vessel went forward, Romualdo Pacheco fleetingly glanced to the starboard, and caught his first glimpse of the American flag, a tiny speck of red, white, and blue in the distance.

In the early 1840's, Romualdo's mother and step-father obtained several large land grants in the vicinity of Mission San Luis Obispo. There they built an adobe house which became their permanent home. In 1848, seventeen years old, young Romualdo left the sea and came to live at San Luis Obispo with his parents. His help was badly needed on the Wilson ranchos to manage the large and rapidly growing cattle herds.

According to provisions of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, by which peace was established between Mexico and the United States in 1848, native residents of California were given the choice of accepting citizenship in the United States or remaining subjects of the Mexican government. For Romualdo Pacheco, as for others in his family, there was only one real choice. He promptly and eagerly took the oath of allegiance to the United States, and thus became one of the first Spanish Californians to receive American citizenship.

When the great flood of gold-hungry Argonauts descended on California in 1849, the native Californians maintained an unconcerned aloofness. Bonanza millionaires might come and go, they reasoned, but the only real and enduring wealth to be derived from California would be that produced by ranching and farming, by the great land grants over which they held a firm if not impregnable monopoly. Though Romualdo Pacheco went to the placers in 1849 and took a small part in the diggings, the lure of Yankee-discovered wealth could not hold him long. Soon he was back in San Luis Obispo, leading the free and open ranch life that throughout his life he loved most.

A slender, dark-haired man, with fiery black eyes and a sinewy build, Pacheco played the part of a California *caballero* to perfection. One day in the 1850's, a visitor brought a letter to the Wilson adobe at San Luis Obispo. Inviting him to stay for the night, Romualdo showed the visitor to a large but comfortably furnished room. As he was about to leave, young Pacheco suddenly wheeled

and kicked aside a pile of saddle bags in the corner of the room, revealing an open-necked sack filled with twenty-dollar gold pieces. "Help yourself," he said unconcernedly. "The house is yours. Burn it if you will."¹⁵

Pacheco's skill and courage in the popular California sport of bear hunting and fighting was remarkable. One morning early in 1852, the foot-prints of a huge grizzly bear were discovered in the earth close to his mother's home at San Luis Obispo. When Romualdo heard the news, he and two other men bounded into the saddle and headed for the nearby mountains. Half-way up a hillside, the horses suddenly halted, snorting loudly and pawing the earth. Before them, standing erect above the dry wild oats, was a huge grizzly bear. The animal's gleaming eyes and savage teeth seemed to petrify the horses, and for a moment the men, too, stared motionless. Then Pacheco's lasso shot forth, snagging the bear's massive forefoot. He spurred his horse down the hillside, while the other men threw lassos around the bear's hindfeet. A newspaper reporter, writing of this incident some years later, spared no adjectives in his idolatrous description of Pacheco:

When he first realized the sudden presence of the terrible enemy, and stood erect in the stirrups, his face gleaming with the glory of youth, fearlessness, and excitement, his great black eyes sparkling, his white teeth pressed upon his nether lip, perfectly still for a moment, he was the most glorious object in nature.¹⁶

Their ropes taut, Pacheco and his men slowly dragged the bear down the hillside, where they tied it to a huge timber. When the animal died, Pacheco pointed knowingly to the sky. Circling high above was a flock of carrion crows, whose watchful eyes had spied the impending feast before it was half-way down the hillside, and had already prepared to partake.

Romualdo Pacheco took an early interest in public affairs. By birth, a distinguished native Californian, he was, by education, a capable speaker in both the Spanish and English languages. Almost inevitably, he was called upon to play a part in the young state's politics. In about 1853, he took an active part in the formation of a Vigilance Committee in San Luis Obispo. At that time, his brother, Mariano Pacheco, was serving San Luis Obispo County

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as a member of the State Assembly. In 1854, Romualdo was elected County Judge of San Luis Obispo, a position roughly comparable to the present-day Superior Judgeship. He served in this office for four years, and in 1857 was elected to the State Senate.

Pacheco was a Democrat, and his election to the Senate was generally indicative of the Democratic trend in national and state politics, by which a Democratic president, James Buchanan, had been elected just a year before. Romualdo Pacheco took his oath as State Senator on January 4, 1858, in the Senate Chamber in Sacramento.¹⁷ He was shortly appointed to the committees on Agriculture, Contingent Expenses, Public Morals, and Internal Improvement. He took an active part in legislative business, and, in 1859, became Chairman of the Agriculture Committee.

In 1860 and the early part of 1861, Pacheco made an extensive tour of Europe, but returned to California in the middle of 1861 and ran for reelection to the State Senate. Political events in the immediately preceding years had caused him to change his party affiliation. Abraham Lincoln became President of the United States in March, 1861, and shortly after southern secession had become a painful reality to the nation. Pacheco's views on the crisis of the Union were those of the majority of Spanish Californians. The great political event of just eleven years before was still vividly emblazoned on their minds. They remembered that the Golden State had entered the Union under provisions of the Great Compromise of 1850, and that it was to be a non-slave but, most significantly, a loyal state. In the fall election of 1861, Pacheco ran for the State Senate as a member of the Union Party, a group that was later to become part of the larger Republican Party. He was elected.¹⁸

In 1862, as a loyal supporter of the Union, State Senator Pacheco was appointed Brigadier General of the First Brigade of the California Militia by Governor Leland Stanford.¹⁹ Early in 1863, he was appointed State Treasurer by Stanford, and later in the same year he was nominated by the Republican Convention to run for a full term. He was elected on September 2, 1863, by a margin of more than 20,000 votes.

On October 31, 1863, Romualdo married Mary Catherine Mc-

Intire, a beautiful and talented playwright. Born in Kentucky, Miss McIntire was the author of many successful comedies presented in San Francisco theatres. Two children were born to the Pachecos. Maybella Ramona, later known as Mabel, was born in San Francisco in 1865. Romualdo, their only son, was born a short time later, and died at the age of seven.

Pacheco ran for reelection as State Treasurer in 1867, but was defeated at the polls by 3,000 votes. At the suggestion of his doctor, he then went south to Mexico.²⁰ For a year he rested in the salubrious Mexican climate, regaining lost strength. He returned to California in 1868 and immediately won reelection to the State Senate. Returned to office by the voters in 1869, he continued to serve through 1871.

At the Republican State Convention of 1871, Pacheco's abilities as an administrator were once again recognized when he received the nomination for Lieutenant Governor, as running mate of the gubernatorial candidate, Newton Booth. At the polls on September 6, 1871, the two Republican candidates were elected.

Newton Booth was a politically ambitious man, and soon after his inauguration as governor he made his plans known to seek election to the United States Senate. The Legislature, in whom power to elect senators was then vested, resisted the Governor's pressures at first, but eventually consented to name him as senator for the term beginning in 1875. This was the last year of Booth's term as governor, and in late 1874 and early 1875 rumors circulated throughout the state that he would not resign from the governorship when he assumed his seat in the Senate, but would instead hold both offices concurrently. The spectacle of the chief executive jockeying for personal political gain in violation of what many persons considered to be constitutional restraints was distasteful to Californians. On February 24, 1875, the San Francisco *Daily Alta California* angrily condemned Booth's political maneuvering and declared: "Pacheco will be Governor on and after March 4th, and he is a fit man for the place. He was nominated and elected with full consideration of the fact that he might become Governor. He had served as State Senator, and because of his excellent reputation had been elected State Treasurer, and his name is still without a

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blemish for everybody save those . . . who stop at nothing to excuse Booth's proposed violation of the Constitution."²¹ Most newspapers seconded the *Alta's* opinion, and contended that holding two offices concurrently would constitute a serious breach of public responsibility. Now, Booth abandoned his plans to hold both offices, but declined to say which of the two he would prefer. The people of California anxiously awaited his decision.

On February 28, the Governor's wishes were made known. The *Daily Alta* wrote:

HAIL GOVERNOR PACHECO!

We have the pleasant news that Newton Booth yesterday resigned the office of Governor of California, that Romualdo Pacheco has succeeded to the position, and that Mr. Irwin . . . now becomes Lieutenant Governor. Mr. Pacheco is a native of California—the only one who has been Governor since the American conquest—and he does credit to the blood from which he sprang and to the people who elected him. He has served the people in responsible positions for twelve years or more, and has an excellent reputation for integrity, prudence and good sense . . . It is gratifying to know that . . . California will be as safe in the hands of the in-coming as of the out-going official.²²

Romualdo Pacheco's oath of office was administered immediately upon receipt of the news, and a short but memorable term in California's executive chair began.

While Lieutenant Governor, Pacheco had served *ex-officio* as warden of San Quentin Prison and developed a deep interest in the problems of penal reform. As governor, he saw need for changes in the administration of criminal justice. At that time, California law did not provide for the parole of prisoners. All matters pertaining to pardon or commutation of sentence were referred to the personal attention of the governor. Throughout his term as chief executive, Pacheco steadfastly refused to grant a pardon to former State Harbor Commissioner John J. Marks.²³ For this refusal, he incurred the enmity of many political powers in the state. But behind his stubbornness was a desire to establish a broad and inclusive basis for the administration of executive clemency—a basis that would be impartial and free of political considerations. On December 6, 1875, he delivered the traditional Governor's Biennial

Message to the Legislature. In it he outlined his broad concepts of justice and concrete suggestions for penal reform:

The history of our State Prison, its management for twenty-five years, and its present condition, contribute to the general record of prisons, a chapter valuable only as a positive display of evils to be avoided . . .

It is no part of our duty to make merchandise of crime, and the State has no interest in convict labor to foster or develop; but in dealing with criminals, labor is one element of reform, and it is certainly right that they should be made to bear the cost of their custody and support, if it can be done without violating any principle of humanity. A convict who has been made to labor during his imprisonment is apt to return to society a better man. He has gained or improved a knowledge . . . that will enable him to supply his needs without resorting to the cunning that springs from ignorance . . . A State that is content to merely punish crime and assert the principle of revenge, forgets the spirit of the age, and violates the conscience of civilization.

In charging the Executive with the duty of preventing possible injustice to criminals and vesting in him the "quality of mercy" on behalf of the State, the Constitution has imposed a trust that is a source of constant pain and embarrassment.

To maintain a due respect for the power of the law, to avoid weakening the force of example, to refrain from violating any principle of justice, and yet to decide impartially upon appeals for clemency, is difficult beyond the comprehension of those who lack the experience. . . . Pardons are applied for almost hourly. In deciding upon the applications it would require something more than qualities of mind and heart merely to avoid human errors; but I believe such errors have been quite as frequent in denying petitions as in granting them.

If a Board were organized with authority to examine every application for pardon, and transmit it to the Governor with recommendation for his action in the premises, the final decision could be made more readily, perhaps more justly.²⁴

Governor Pacheco's message touched on many other significant state problems, among them the development of the Yosemite Valley, then owned and operated by California as a State Park; the construction of new buildings for the state government; and, portentously—a problem that remains very real today—the rapid growth of the then-infant University of California. He said:

The University of California has been in operation six years. . . . A university, whose life is for ages, needs a guidance at once conserva-

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tive and progressive. It cannot safely sustain any shock of injudicious pruning, nor easily endure the loss of that confidence and cooperation which can be secured only by stability and a steady growth. Like all young institutions, its demands for new accommodations will be constant in its early years. The two buildings at Berkeley are already crowded; the assembly-hall for use on public occasions is too small; there is no adequate space for the library; and better accommodations are needed to display important collections illustrating the natural sciences.

Much of the future welfare of California depends on the higher culture of her sons and daughters. There is nothing to prevent our establishing a University that will be peer to any in the world. It is better that students should find it at home than seek it abroad.²⁵

The Governor's message was favorably received by the people of the state. On December 9, the *Daily Alta* wrote that, although Pacheco's "gubernatorial experience has been brief and quiet, we see in his message a demonstration of his character."²⁶

1875 was an election year in state politics. As successful incumbent, Pacheco sought nomination and election to the governorship for the full term beginning in 1876. Soon after assuming the executive chair, he made his intentions known to the people of California and began to gather support for the Republican Convention, which was to assemble in June at Sacramento. Several opposing candidates entered the field against him—among them William Irwin, a man who had succeeded Pacheco as Lieutenant Governor. By March 26, the *Daily Alta* could write: "Pacheco is likely to go to the Republican State Convention with considerable support for the nomination for governor."²⁷ But Irwin began to arouse widespread popular support, giving indications of a desire to run for Governor on the Democratic ticket, opposing Pacheco on the Republican. On March 27, the *Contra Costa Gazette* expressed its belief that the people of California "and the honest constituencies of the two political parties" would do best to nominate Pacheco for governor and Irwin for Lieutenant Governor, without bothering with the formality of holding conventions.²⁸ But all politicians did not share the views of the *Gazette*. The Central Pacific Railroad then exercised considerable influence in state politics. Pacheco was accused of representing the interests of the Union Pacific.²⁹ The charge may or may not have been true, and in any

case would seem to have been of negligible importance. But for the Republican Convention it became a seemingly crucial question.

Meeting on June 10, the convention almost immediately rallied in support of Charles Phelps, a cleverly concealed "dark horse" candidate. From the first day of the meeting, it was obvious that Pacheco's chances for success had been suddenly and completely torn asunder. Appearing before the convention on June 11, the Governor withdrew his name. Phelps was nominated for governor. Pacheco then expected to receive the nomination for Lieutenant Governor, the office to which he had been elected four years previous. But the convention again by-passed him.

On June 12, the *Daily Alta* commented: "Governor Pacheco must naturally be hurt at the way in which he was treated. Called upon from all sides to accept the nomination, supported by the leading Republican papers, he came upon the scene on the day before the Convention to find everything changed as by the wand of a magician, the Convention held in the hollow of one man's hand, and himself quietly ignored. Nothing was left for him but to quietly and magnanimously withdraw from a contest he had no reason to expect."³⁰

But Pacheco was determined to run for reelection to the Lieutenant Governorship. In the absence of party endorsement, his name appeared on the ballot as an independent. In the voting, he rallied a total of 33,000 votes, more than either of the Republican candidates for governor or Lieutenant Governor received. The probability that Pacheco would have been successfully elected, had he received the Republican nod, is strong. But the split in the GOP, together with a national trend to the Democratic party that was to result in the near-election of Samuel Tilden as president in 1876, proved to be an overwhelming liability. The successful Democratic candidate for Lieutenant Governor, James Johnson, pulled more than 58,000 votes. William Irwin, running as a Democrat, was successfully elected to succeed Pacheco in the governor's chair.

Defeat in the election of 1875 was only a temporary interruption of Pacheco's career. The last months of his administration had earned him warm praise throughout the state, and at the con-

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clusion of the convention of 1875 it had been rumored that Republican leaders were planning "to give Governor Pacheco the nomination for Congress in the southern district, if he will take it."³¹ Pacheco did.

California was then divided into four congressional districts, and incumbency in one of these carried with it a prestige and power nearly equal to that of the United States senators. The election of 1876 found Romualdo Pacheco running for Congress, not, as had been rumored, in the southern district, but in the large and populous central district, which included Fresno, Los Angeles, San Francisco, San Mateo, San Diego, Santa Barbara, San Luis Obispo, Inyo, Kern, Mariposa, Merced, Mono, Monterey, and San Bernardino counties.³² Pacheco was elected over his Democratic opponent, Peter Wigginton, by the hair-splitting margin of one vote.³³ He appeared in Congress to take his oath of office on October 17, 1877, and was immediately encountered by charges that he had been elected by the fraudulent alteration of certain ballots.

James A. Garfield, then Republican leader in the House of Representatives, and later President of the United States, answered the Democratic charges. "After the election . . .," he said, "it was found that the vote was exceedingly close and the question was carried by the contestant into the Circuit Court, where a decision was given in favor of Mr. Pacheco. An appeal was then taken to the Supreme Court of California; and I have in my hand the opinion of that court, [giving] him the legal certificate which he bears. No other man bears a certificate from that district."³⁴

The dispute was referred by the House to the Committee on Elections for Study, and Pacheco was sworn in pending the committee's decision. He was soon appointed to the Committee on Public Lands, and, during the year of 1877, he introduced two bills, one for the purpose of erecting a lighthouse at San Luis Obispo Bay and another to provide means for the regulation and survey of United States timber lands.³⁵ On February 7, 1878, the Elections Committee reported its decision on the dispute over Pacheco's election. Dominated by Democrats, the committee refused to accept the Supreme Court certificate of election, and gave the Congressional seat to Wigginton.

Pacheco then returned to California — first to his family ranchos at San Luis Obispo, and later to San Francisco. There, in June, 1878, he formed a partnership with W. E. Hale, a member of the San Francisco Stock Exchange.³⁶ With this beginning, Pacheco entered a career in the stock brokerage business with which he was to be prominently associated for many years. But the lure of politics was still with him. In the election of 1878, he once again challenged Wigginton for Congress. This time his victory was decisive.

He took his congressional oath for the second time on March 4, 1879.³⁷ He was returned to his seat in 1880, and continued in office until March 3, 1883. During this nearly five-year period, Pacheco was a member of the Public Expenditures Committee and Chairman of the Private Land Claims Committee. For the latter position he was particularly well-suited. A Spanish Californian himself, he could appreciate the difficulties faced by his own people in California, a major area of land claim disputes.

Pacheco also took an early stand on the need for Southern California harbor development. Speaking of the construction of facilities at Wilmington, he said: "I would state from my own personal knowledge of the great wealth and importance of Southern California, its rapidly increasing commerce, and the importance of having at that point a secure harbor for shipping," that "it is of the utmost importance that an . . . appropriation should be made for the completion of the harbor improvements."³⁸

In June of 1881, the nation was stunned by the news that came from Washington. President James Garfield, inaugurated just four months before, had been shot by a disappointed federal office-seeker. For a month and a half he lingered between life and death, while an anxious nation prayed for his recovery. Then, in September, the President died. The House of Representatives, in which Garfield had served with distinction for seventeen years, felt his loss keenly. On December 9, 1881, members of the House formed a *Select Committee on the Death of President Garfield*.³⁹ Romualdo Pacheco, a member of the committee, recalled the day in 1877 when Garfield had successfully pleaded for his admission to Congress. With the rest of the nation, he mourned the loss of a man whom

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historians have called one of the few potentially great men of the late 19th century.

In 1883 Pacheco retired from Congress, and returned for a time to California and his stock brokerage. Then he left for Mexico. In the northern part of the state of *Coahuila*, near the Texas border, he became manager of a huge Mexican cattle ranch.⁴⁰ Here, the old life of the California *vaqueros* was being lived as it had been in California in the days of Pacheco's youth. He was now past fifty, but the strenuous and free ranch life still held a strong appeal for him. Riding the open range gave him renewed vigor.

Romualdo Pacheco embodied a unique fusion of the Spanish and American spirits. He spoke both Spanish and English with perfection; he understood and could sympathize with the problems of Latins throughout America; and yet he maintained an unswerving, devoted loyalty to his adopted country, the United States. With his unique talents, it was only a matter of time before the hand of public service would again be laid on his shoulder.

On December 1, 1890, President Benjamin Harrison appointed Pacheco to the position of *Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Central American States*.⁴¹ The appointment was confirmed by the Senate, and a short time later Minister Pacheco took up his residence in the American Legation in Guatemala City.

The Republic of the United States of Central America had been formed in 1823, upon the completion of Central America's successful wars for independence from Spain. But local bickering and selfish differences of opinion had caused the Republic's dissolution as early as 1839, and the formation of a half-dozen independent states. Subsequent efforts to restore Central American unity met with little success. The United States favored the establishment of some sort of centralized government and hoped that the appointment of a single Minister to the entire area would encourage moves in this direction.

Minister Pacheco, as representative of United States policy in Central America, was faced with many difficult situations involving the over-eagerness of local countries to assert their sovereignty. He handled these problems deftly, but it soon became obvious that the duties required of a United States representative

were more than could be easily accomplished by a single man. Accordingly, in July of 1891, Pacheco was accredited to what were then the two most important countries of Central America, Guatemala and Honduras, and a second officer was appointed to officiate in the remaining area. Continuing his residence in Guatemala City, Pacheco served until June 21, 1893.⁴²

He then returned to California and his stock brokerage in San Francisco. His wife, Mary, had long taken an active interest in the San Francisco theatre. In addition to her successful novel, *Montalban*, she had written many popular comic plays, among them *Incog* and *Nothing but Money*. When the Pachecos returned from Guatemala City, Romualdo attempted to open a theatre in San Francisco in which his wife's plays would receive regular presentation. Pacheco invested nearly all of his available assets in the venture, which he and his wife called *The Comedy Theatre*. Its opening in San Francisco was a gala affair, widely publicized in the newspapers and attended by the best of San Francisco society. But as time passed, attendance lagged, and the theater met failure. For Mary Pacheco it meant the frustration of theatrical ambitions; but for her husband it amounted to virtual bankruptcy.

In the mid-1890's, the Pachecos moved to Oakland, where they lived with Romualdo's brother-in-law, Henry R. Miller.⁴³ The ex-Governor's last years were quiet and uneventful, and his name seemed to have been forgotten by the state of California.

In January, 1899, sixty-seven years old, Romualdo Pacheco fell ill, and on the night of January 23 he died.⁴⁴ Word of his death was flashed to newspapers across the country, and the people of California paused for a moment in their busy lives to recall his name. The San Francisco *Chronicle* called him "one of the most picturesque" and "prominent figures in the state's history."⁴⁵ The Oakland *Tribune* said that Pacheco's death "leaves a gap in the ranks of the state's strong men that cannot be exactly filled."⁴⁶

A dynamic, energetic man, Romualdo Pacheco had led a long and distinguished life of public service. He had served his state and his nation—but also his people. Born and nurtured a Spanish Californian, he was their last, and in some ways greatest, representative.

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NOTES

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1. San Diego Mission Records, Entry 948.
2. Don Agustin Janssens, *Life and Adventures in California* (San Marino, 1953), p. 20.
3. *Ibid.*
4. J. N. Bowman, "Prominent Women of Provincial California," *Hist. Soc. of So. Cal. Quarterly* (June, 1957), p. 162.
5. *Ibid.*
6. William Heath Davis, *75 Years in Calif.* (S. F., 1929), p. 32.
7. Josefa Carrillo de Fitch, *Narracion*, p. 147 of *Pioneer Sketches*, MS, Bancroft Library.
8. *Arbaes* is a variant spelling of Arballo.
9. Señora Carrillo became a widow after Josefa, Ramona, and Francisca were married; hence these daughters could not contribute to the formation of their mother's estate.
10. *Will of Maria Ignacia Lopez de Carrillo*, Estate 13, Office of the County Clerk, Sonoma County Courthouse, Santa Rosa. Translated from the Spanish by Mrs. Dorothy E. McGinty.
11. *Panama City Star*, February 24, 1849; in *San Francisco Directory* for 1850.
12. Peter Thomas Conmy, *Romualdo Pacheco* (S. F., 1957), pp. 3-4.
13. See "Ramona Carrillo," Part III of "Carrillos of San Diego" in *Quarterly* for June, 1957.
14. Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 25.
15. Gertrude Atherton, *California, an Intimate History* (N. Y., 1927), p. 73.
16. *San Francisco Daily Alta California* (March 7, 1875).
17. *Journals of the State Senate, 9th Session* (Sacramento, 1858), p. 5.
18. Peter Thomas Conmy, "The Political Career of Romualdo Pacheco," *Grizzly Bear*, p. 3.
19. Alonzo Phelps, "Romualdo Pacheco," in *Contemporary Biography* (S. F., 1882), I, p. 143.
20. *Ibid.*
21. *Daily Alta* (February 24, 1875).
22. *Ibid.* (Feb. 28).
23. Conmy, *Romualdo Pacheco*, *ibid.*, p. 8.
24. *Appendix to Journals of Senate and Assembly* (Sacramento, 1876). pp. 17-22.
25. *Ibid.*, pp. 13-14.
26. *Daily Alta* (December 9, 1875).
27. *Ibid.* (March 26).
28. *Contra Costa Gazette* quoted in *Daily Alta*, *ibid.*, (March 27).
29. *Daily Alta*, *ibid.*, (June, 1875).
30. *Ibid.* (June 12).
31. *Ibid.*
32. *Congressional Directory of Forty-Seventh Congress* (Washington, 1882), p. 9.
33. Conmy, *op. cit.*
34. *Congressional Record*, 45th Congress, Oct. 17, 1877.
35. *Ibid.*
36. Phelps, *op. cit.*
37. Conmy, *op. cit.*
38. *Congressional Record*, 47th Congress, February 15th, 1881.
39. *Ibid.*, December 9, 1881.
40. David P. Barrows, "Romualdo Pacheco," in *Dictionary of American Biography* (N. Y., 1934), XIV, pp. 124-5.
41. Conmy, *op. cit.*
42. *Ibid.*
43. *Ibid.*
44. *San Francisco Chronicle* (Jan. 24, 1899).
45. *Ibid.*
46. *Oakland Tribune* (Jan. 24, 1899).

Book Reviews

WOVOKA: *The Indian Messiah*. By Paul Bailey. (Westernlore Press, Los Angeles, 1957.) 223 pp, with *Index*. \$5.50.

The death blow to Indian resistance to white encroachment in the United States came as a result of a movement through which the Indian awaited a savior, salvation, a millennium, and the opportunity to regain his dignity among other men. Ironically, many of the basic tenets of the messianic movement that resulted in such destruction were derived from Christianity — brotherly love, disdain for violence, physical abnegation, and the leading of the contemplative life. The Ghost Dance Religion, as it was called, spread rapidly in the 1880's and gained widespread recognition. But its originator and Messiah, the Paiute Indian Wovoka, is today all but forgotten. This is his story.

Wovoka was the son of a tribal chieftain and received early instruction in ritual and magic. The boy developed a solitary and contemplating disposition and was "one of those born to see visions and hear still voices." Long before his birth, his people had ceased to be warlike. When their lands were expropriated, they were forced to become the white man's menials or to enter reservations. In their helplessness, they turned to debauchery and became degraded.

Wovoka was one of those who toiled for the whites. As a child he gained a quasi-acceptance among his masters, but as a young man he became aware, more acutely than ever, that he was simply an Indian. He had a desperate desire to help his people. Deeply impressed with many aspects of Christianity, he translated its teachings into terms his people could understand. By developing an ability to enter a catalytic trance and to perform certain feats of legerdemain, he became recognized as a messiah who had received revelations from heaven.

The religion gained widespread adherents. But in this collective strength the white man sensed danger and misunderstood the rituals as preparation for war. From this misunderstanding resulted the massacre of Sitting Bull and his tribe, the final and humiliating blow to the Indian nations of North America.—J.L.R.

Book Reviews

BOOKS WEST SOUTHWEST. By Lawrence Clark Powell. (The Ward Ritchie Press, Los Angeles. 1957. \$4.50)

Five or six years ago bookman Lawrence Clark Powell of Los Angeles, like Saul of Tarsus, was blinded by a great light. When he could see again, he lifted his eyes and found he was in "the Southwest"—a "dry and wrinkled land"—and that henceforth he was to preach the gospel of the Southwest.

Fortunately for all of us he has done just that. Always an evangelist of books, only in the last half dozen years has he become the literary spokesman—with J. Frank Dobie—for a region.

This latest volume is a collection of the author's recent and personal reactions to the writers, the books, and the land of the "West Southwest." These essays had their origin in the talks given and the articles written during barnstorming trips through the deserts, the mountains, the cities, and the seacoast of the semi-arid land that lies between "the Pecos of New Mexico-Texas and the Salinas of California."

Mr. Powell writes with brilliance, wit, gusto, and warm sympathy. His reactions are quick. His phrases are deft and spring from a lively imagination. His opinions change as do his moods.

The author tells here of his conversion to the world of Willa Cather in her *Death Comes To The Archbishop*, to the world of Will Levington Comfort in his *Apache*, of Haniel Long in his *Interlinear to Cabeza de Vaca*, and of Tom Lea in his *The Wonderful Country*. Revisiting New Mexico he lovingly reacts to little known areas heavy with a Spanish and Indian past. He sums up Dobie of Texas as "Mr. Southwest." He pays homage to Frederick Webb Hodge, to the Big Sur, to the "back roads" free of traffic, and to Robinson Jeffers. Swinging back to his homeland south of the Tehachapi, he dwells delightfully upon his experiences as a young book clerk and salesman, runs through the fiction produced in Los Angeles, believes this city a better breeding place for good novels than San Francisco, and predicts that as the Queen of the Angels becomes smoggier and smellier its literature will become livelier.

Author-librarian Powell is essentially an escapist. He flees from the "gigantism," the "widening stain," of the city he professes to love. He seeks out the fragments of the geographical Southwest that have not yet succumbed to urbanism or industrialism. He moves to the temporary refuge of the Malibu and takes vacations in the inaccessible areas of the Big Sur. He goes back in time and, with nostalgic joy, becomes the *historian* of the Southwest. Escapist or not, the result is good writing. Powell is fun!

—W.W.R.

Essays, Pamphlets and Reprints

AT THE APPROACH OF NINETY. By Rockwell D. Hunt. Privately printed in a limited edition of 500 copies by Harvey E. Scudder, Stockton, 1957. 16 (unnumbered) pages. *Frontispiece* by Anthony Euwer.

This little human document, presented by its eminent and venerable author as a Christmas greeting to his countless friends, is not, strictly speaking, a work on California history and should perhaps therefore not be reviewed here. But in a wider sense it has truly historic significance as the philosophic precipitate of the lifetime of a man who exists as a living link between California's turbulent past and its turbulent present, a man who has been identified with California history for more than the normal span of human existence, who is a past president of our Society, and upon whom a governor of our state bestowed the merited title "*Mr. California.*"

In clear, simple, and sometimes beautiful sentences Dr. Hunt sets forth the thoughts with which he approaches his ninetieth birthday, which will be on February 3, 1958. There is nothing nostalgic about these thoughts, no sentimental longing for the Arcadian years that are past. The long lifetime that lies behind him is a colorful tapestry that serves as a background for the living present. And from the living present he looks forward with curiosity and eagerness to the dim vista of the future which still lies before him.

Two thousand years ago another sage old gentleman, named Cicero, wrote a little book of this sort and he called it *De Senectute*, which means "On Old Age." Significantly, these words do not appear in Dr. Hunt's essay; for him "Old Age" is still in the distant future and, if I know him at all, he will never reach it. His is a timeless world and will always be. And his essay is a comforting one, one that I commend to everyone who faces the sunset. I shall cherish it and read it many times.—G.O.A.

BETSY ROSS, by Justin G. Turner. Reprinted from *MANUSCRIPTS*, Volume VIII No. 5, Fall of 1956, 6 pages.

The Society has been presented a copy of the above reprint; the author is one of the outstanding collectors of Americana and our own vice-president.

The article is about two documents. The first is the marriage bond of John Ross, required by law "to prevent the enticement of

Book Reviews

a person under legal age into matrimony and to make certain that both parties were free to marry."

Elizabeth or Betsy Griscom was a fourth generation American; her father helped to erect the belfry of Independence Hall. The Griscoms were Quakers and objected to her marrying John Ross, an Episcopalian whose father was rector of Benjamin Franklin's church, hence the marriage bond.

After Turner acquired the bond, he learned that the original was said to be in Trenton, capital of New Jersey but inquiry disclosed that the New Jersey copy was only a facsimile; continued search finally established Turner's document as the original.

Collectors of Revolutionary War autographs were of the opinion that no document bearing the signature of Betsy Ross was in existence so great was Turner's joy when in the spring of 1956 he learned of a document dated January 23, 1776, signed by Elizabeth Ross, her bond as administratrix of the estate of her late husband, John Ross. Of course he acquired it.

Betsy had had three suitors; after Ross lost his life in the Revolution she married Joseph Ashburn who died in prison in England where he and the other suitor, John Claypool, were prisoners of war. Later she married Claypool.

Turner is not only an avid collector of Americana but a painstaking one as well. He knows each document intimately and shares them generously. At times he has simultaneous exhibits as when, recently some of his Revolutionary War items were being shown at the State Museum in Exposition Park while just across the way his Lafayette collection was on exhibit in the County Museum.

—F.B.P.

THE MARY LINCOLN LETTERS TO MRS. FELICIAN SLATAPER. By Justin G. Turner. Reprinted from the *JOURNAL of the Illinois State Historical Society*. Spring, 1956.

In 1955, Mr. Turner, well known collector of Lincolniana, purchased eleven unpublished letters, written by Mary Todd Lincoln in the late 1860's and early 1870's. In his preface Mr. Turner tells of the circumstances under which they were written—four of them, from Europe. He notes, that after Abraham Lincoln's death, his wife seemed to have very few real friends to whom she could turn.

Apparently she met Mrs. Felician Slataper of Pittsburgh, while spending the summer in the Alleghenies. At once she felt she'd found a real friend and continually begs her to write frequently. In these letters Mrs. Lincoln reveals the depressive state

into which she so often fell, especially after Tad's death. She tells of being "so lonely and isolated," and *time* has brought no healing to her. Altogether, these letters are quite important in helping us understand Mary Todd Lincoln better; and we sense her deep loneliness as she makes her continual "*come to me*" appeals to her friend, Mrs. Slataper. — M.R.K.

EXECUTIVE'S KEY TO THE WESTERN INDUSTRIAL MARKET: *A statistical review of the Industrial Market in the Eleven Western States.* Compiled by the Research Department, Los Angeles County Chamber of Commerce. 1957 Edition *Illustrated*. Maps of whole area and individual states. Tables of statistics. 32 pages.

This is a useful document for the executive's desk, giving information on each state, the whole area, and the metropolitan areas set up by the U. S. Census Bureau. Maps show the counties, county seats, mountains and rivers. Data on the major industries and growth from 1929 to 1954 by states and leading industrial centers is brought out. Population changes and forecasts of the principal parts of the area are set forth. The business man will find in this pamphlet much of his work done for appraising markets or extending his advertising programs.—G.E.M.

Activities of the Society

Cowboy Hall of Fame Barbecue

Following our September meeting the Society received an invitation to participate in the barbecue at Del Mar under the auspices of the Cowboy Hall of Fame on September 15th. A few of our members joined that affair.

MEETING OF OCTOBER 8, 1957

Mrs. Iris A. Wilson, teacher and historian, addressed this meeting at the County Museum devoted to William F. Wolfskill, pioneer of 1831. Born in Kentucky, in early life a trapper in New Mexico and coming here to live in 1831, he married Senorita Magdalena Lugo. He became one of our largest land owners with several separate ranchos. His orange grove was the largest in the United States at one time and he was also a vineyardist of real proportions.

Mrs. Wilson held her audience in rapt attention and earned our appreciative applause. Her picture of William Wolfskill was keenly heard by several members of his family who were present.

During the refreshment hour Mrs. John C. Wolfskill and Mrs. B. Sabichi Mitchell poured at the urns.

Palomares Park Dedication

On October 20 several members journeyed to Pomona to attend the dedication of Palomares Park and to participate in the affair. Director E. F. Ducommun and Mrs. Ducommun, Treasurer Frank B. Putnam, Executive Secretary Guy E. Marion and Mrs. Marion, Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Northrop and children and Sheriff Biscailuz, who was one of the principal speakers on the program, were in attendance. Thomas Workman Temple II of San Gabriel gave an excellent paper covering the history of the Palomares family. Following the speaking eight members of the local Society

presented a series of square dances in costume. They had scarcely finished their act when the heavens opened and gave us a sharp shower which drove the audience to cover and closed the program.

MEETING OF NOVEMBER 12, 1957

Our distinguished member, Mr. Ferdinand Perret, gave us an evening of varied characteristics, composed of a splendid lecture upon "Spanish-Colonial Art in California and the Southwest," and the showing of his beautiful colored slides of paintings and buildings of the Southwest. The story of religious paintings brought from Spain and Mexico as well as those by distinguished artists and neophytes unfolded before us. Mr. Perret is the founder of "The Perret Art Reference Library" which he donated to the Smithsonian Institute in Washington. Drawing from his experience in travel and university lecturing he gave the members a new knowledge of Southwest art.

During the refreshment period Mrs. Beatrice Sabichi Mitchell and Mrs. Ernest Yorba acted as cohostesses with Mrs. Ducommun, chairman of the Hostess Committee and Mrs. Ferdinand Perret and Mrs. Alfred S. Chapman presided at the urns.

Presentation of Painting of Governor Pico to his Hacienda

On November 24 at the invitation of W. O. Gilkey, secretary of Parlor No. 45 of the Native Sons of the Golden West, several of our members attended a function at the Pico Hacienda to see a painting of the late Governor presented to the House to embellish its walls. Here again Sheriff Biscailuz participated in the speaking and Mr. Putnam, the Northrops and the Marions attended. Refreshments were served in the patio and the several rooms of the old mansion were open for inspection.

MEETING OF DECEMBER 10, 1957

Our holiday meeting proved to be a great success with our member, Maymie R. Krythe, addressing us on "In California—It's Everywhere, Everywhere, Christmas Tonight!"

As the author of the currently best-selling book, "All About Christmas," Mrs. Krythe, entertained the audience with many charming Christmas stories and history from the earliest times to the present and gave us a good idea of the customs peculiar to this

Activities of the Society

state. A goodly number, about one hundred, turned out to enjoy the evening.

The occasion was a real Christmas for our society as Mrs. Mitchell presented a gift of a beautiful candelabra for the refreshment table and Mr. and Mrs. E. F. Ducommun presented a handsome silver tray to receive the urn at the same table. The announcement of both gifts was received with generous applause from all present.

At the refreshment table Mrs. Krythe, our speaker of the evening, and Mrs. Lorrin L. Morrison, presided at the urns.

Gifts to the Society

In each issue of THE QUARTERLY there appears a list of the donors and gifts made currently to the Society.

The Society is making an especial effort to build up its collection of historic materials, such as diaries, letters, account books, early newspapers, theatre and other programs, pictures of early-day life in California and costumes. We need your help.

Many members having treasured ancestral keepsakes were impelled to give them to the Society because of the realization that in private possession they would, sooner or later, disappear or deteriorate, whereas, in the custody of the Historical Society of Southern California they will be preserved indefinitely.

MARCO R. NEWMARK,

Chairman, Committee on Gifts and Bequests

MRS. BEATRICE SABICHI MITCHELL, South Pasadena—A beautiful candelabra for use on our refreshment table.

MR. AND MRS. E. F. DUCOMMUN, San Marino—A large engraved silver tray for holding a serving urn at one end of the refreshment table.

JUSTIN G. TURNER, Los Angeles—Pamphlet entitled "*Two Letters from Abraham Lincoln to Major Thomas T. Eckert*" relating to the abortive Hampton Roads Peace Conference of January 30-February 3, 1865. Another pamphlet entitled "*Early Americana*"; a loan exhibition of original manuscripts of the period 1630-1800 from the Justin G. Turner Collection to Commemorate the 170th Anniversary of the Signing of the *United States Constitution*, September 17, 1787.

New Members

Twelve new members have joined the Historical Society of Southern California since the last issue of the QUARTERLY in September, 1957. The President and Board of Directors take this opportunity to introduce the new members to the Society and to extend to them a cordial welcome:

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Martha J. Gristock

Preston Hotchkis

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These institutions maintain memberships in order to receive the Quarterly.

HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

Altadena Historical Society	Illinois State Historical Library
Glendale Historical Society	Utah State Historical Society

PUBLIC LIBRARIES

Alameda Free Library	Newberry Library
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Long Beach Public Library	Santa Monica Public Library
Los Angeles County Public Library	South Pasadena Public Library
Los Angeles Public Library	Upland Public Library
New York Public Library	Ventura County Free Library

SPECIAL LIBRARIES

Academy of California Church History	Los Angeles County Medical
American Antiquarian Society	Association
Arizona Dept. of Library and Archives	Native Daughters of the Golden West:
California State Library	Los Angeles Parlor No. 124
Friday Morning Club	Provincial Archives (British Columbia)
Genealogical Society of the Latter Day	San Bernardino Daily Sun
Saints	

MUSEUMS

Henry E. Huntington Library and Art	Los Angeles County Museum Library
Gallery	Southwest Museum Library
Kern County Museum	Ventura County Pioneer Museum

Roster of Members

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Brown University	University of California, Bancroft Library
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Columbia University Libraries	University of California at Los Angeles
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Harvard College Library	University of Chicago Library
Honnold Library, Pomona College	University of Michigan, General Library
Indiana University Library	University of New Mexico
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EXCHANGES

Previous to the war years, we had established exchanges with the following libraries and institutions; with the return of normal times, it may be possible to reinstate this arrangement with them.

Arkansas University	Minnesota Historical Society
California Historical Society	Missouri State Historical Society
Colorado State Historical Society	Nebraska State Historical Society
The Grizzly Bear	North Dakota Historical Society
Idaho State Historical Society	Oregon Historical Society
Indiana State Historical Society	Texas State Historical Association
Kansas State Historical Society	Wyoming State Library

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

CONTRIBUTORS TO SPECIAL PROJECTS

Throughout the life of the Society many individual business firms and others have supported the "Memorial Bronze Plaque," the "Centennial Year Roster" and other special undertakings. We take great pleasure in acknowledging their contributions in the following list:

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